

Gifford—Tongan Society

5

The area of

Tongatabu, however, probably does not exceed 150 square miles, which on the basis of full-blooded Tongan population, in 1921, gives the average of 65 individuals to the square mile, a number probably sufficient for communication in the traditional way, if the bulk of the population fringed the ancient highway which ran from end to end of the island. It should be borne in mind that the ancient population lived largely on farms rather than in villages. Ancient burials are to-day found in the bush where farms once flourished.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 297) mentions an assemblage at an entertainment on Tongatabu Island, concerning which "some of us computed, that, at this time, there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people, in our neighborhood; that is, within the compass of a quarter of a mile; drawn together, for the most part, by mere curiosity." Providing the total is not overestimated, this statement would seem at first glance to indicate a larger population for Tongatabu Island than that of the present day. But many people from neighboring islands of Tongatabu and from Haapai and Vavau were doubtless present. In reference to the population of the islands near Tongatabu in 1797 the following quotation from Wilson (65, p. 95) is pertinent: "Passing to the northward of Eoo-äije, we steered W.S.W. to the entrance, then W. by S. and W. up the harbour, followed by the above canoe and several others, which put off from the eastern part of the main island and the islets that lie scattered upon the reef."

The statement of Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 246) that "at least three thousand people" assembled at the entertainments on Lifuka Island indicates a population in 1777 no greater than in 1909 when Lifuka and the neighboring islands Foa and Haano had a population of 3,565. With the rest of Haapai to draw upon as well, a crowd of three thousand people might be assembled readily enough. Cook's description of the island of Mango suggests that the population in 1777 did not much exceed the population of 42 individuals in 1906 and it is of interest to note that he found Uoleva Island, just south of Lifuka, as destitute of inhabitants as it is to-day.

The grouping of people in villages and the consequent desertion of farms as residences has taken place probably since 1773, when Cook (18, vol. 1, p. 213) described the country as follows:

The produce and cultivation of this isle [Eua] is the same as at Amsterdam [Tongatabu]; with this difference, that a part only of the former is cultivated, whereas the whole of the latter is. The lanes or roads necessary for travelling, are laid out in so judicious a manner, as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no towns or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what convenience requires; they are neatly constructed, but do not exceed those in the other isles. The materials of which they are built, are the same; and some little variation in the disposition of the framing is all the difference in their construction. The floor is a little raised, and covered with thick strong mats; the same sort of matting serves to inclose them on

the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrant perfume the very air in which they breathe. 175
342
[352]
[351]

Again, in 1777, Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 314) describes Tongatabu, as he saw it on "an excursion into the country," in the following words: 175
361
311

We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced around. Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and, yet, even those were useful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told, belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the island. [643]
[491]
[487]

The nearest approach to a village, observed by Cook was the capital Mua (the modern villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga), where the principal chiefs of Tongatabu dwelt, especially when attending the court of the Tui Tonga. 175
361

A map of Tongatabu Island, published in 1810 by Vason (60), although doubtless inaccurate as to details, shows the great road traversing the length of Tongatabu and the numerous lanes separating the farms. 491

La Perouse (47, vol. 2, pp. 171, 172) describes the south coast of Tongatabu as follows: 175

As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore; and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared to be cultivated; the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees . . . The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains. 175
133
175
311
361

In 1793 conditions seemed to be unchanged, for Labillardière (37, vol. 2, pp. 135, 136, 153) says:

In advancing to the westward, we went over a vast enclosure formed by palisades, the stakes of which, placed obliquely, were pretty close to each other, and in the middle of which grew the bread-fruit tree, the plantain-tree, the fan palm, *corypha umbraculifera*, &c. Farther on, we found, within a fence not near so extensive, a small hut, of a conical form, in which we learnt were deposited the remains of a chief lately dead; and we were also informed that it was forbidden to enter it. [417]
[245]
[417]
[764]

We then walked, for near a quarter of an hour, along a narrow road lined with palisades on both sides: we followed it as far as a very large lawn, where King Toobou was shortly to make his appearance. . . . [622]
[491]

We soon after entered the fields, where we saw each individual's ground divided into small plots, surrounded by palisades, and in a high state of cultivation.

The missionaries who took up their residence in 1797 speak of certain places as the residences of chiefs—for example, Haateiho and Mua (spelled 175
361
797

Tuitatui's predilection for the fair sex is illustrated in two tales (26, pp. 46-48), one concerning incest with his sister Latutama, the other with winning the maiden Nua. The recovery of the buried carapace of the famous turtle Sangone was accomplished by Fasiapule, the king's maternal half brother (op. cit., pp. 49-54). Prince Tungi possesses a piece of turtle-shell fishhook, reputed to be made from this carapace. Tuitatui is said to have died in the mountainous island of Eua, whence Fasiapule, his faithful half brother, transported his body to Tongatabu for burial (op. cit., p. 45). An Eua informant, Fakatene, said that the king died at Tuutuu, near Kolomaile.

One version of the story about the Tongan hero Muni states, perhaps wrongly, that Muni's mother embarked on one of the Tuitatui's vessels on the fatal voyage during which she fell a victim to the cannibal oven. (See 26, p. 120.)

Tuitatui is said to mean "king who strikes the knee," referring to the Tui Tonga's custom of hitting with a long stick the knees of his matapule when they came too close. Tuitatui is reputed to have thus established the custom of keeping the matapule at a respectable distance on ceremonial occasions. His reason for this practice is said to have been the fear of assassination, because several [sic] Tui Tonga had been killed at kava ceremonies by their matapule. The Falefa matapule who attended the Tui Tonga were induced by scheming great chiefs to murder them, in order that some relative of the schemers might ascend the throne. As the Falefa were foreigners (*muli*) they were not subject to the curse which would fall upon a native Tongan for touching the Tui Tonga's person. (Actually, there is no tradition of the murder of any king before the nineteenth Tui Tonga.)

12. Talatama. The twelfth king seems to have been the son of Tuitatui who with his brother Talaihaapepe is said to have assisted in the erection of the great trilithon (26, pp. 30, 46). One native account says that the trilithon was made by Tuitatui's sons, Uanga (Talatama?) and Afulunga (Talaihaapepe?). While they were constructing it, Tuitatui died. After their father's death Talatama and his brother Talaihaapepe moved the capital, to Lapaha where there was sheltered anchorage for their two favorite vessels (26, pp. 30, 46). Their sister Fatafehi, the Female Tui Tonga, by her silence gave consent to the removal. Another version, however, makes her the instigator of the move: Some-time after the completion of the trilithon, Fatafehi said to the new king, "Let us move from this locality, for I am tired of the noise of the surf on the rocks." So they moved and Fatafehi said, "Goodbye noisy rocks (Utulongoa)," hence the name of the place to-day.

Concerning the reign of Talatama, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468 says: "Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass eine Verbindung mit dem 'Ali'atama in Manu'a besteht, welcher vielmehr als Karika in Rarotonga bekannt ist."

The royal residence was then erected at Lapaha. There was constructed the royal tomb called Langi Leka. (See also 26, p. 49.) It was the first of the great series of royal tombs to be built at Mua. Some generations later the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I was buried there.

13. Tuitonga Nui Tamatou. Tui Tonga Talatama lacked a male heir, apparently for the first time in the history of the dynasty. Talaihaapepe did not directly succeed his brother on the throne. To meet this situation a fictitious king (Tuitonga Nui Tamatou), represented by a dummy of *ton* wood, was provided and declared to be the son of Talatama and father of Talaihaapepe (26, p. 30). McKern, who excavated the terraced tomb reputed to be the burial place of the wooden dummy, found no trace of human bones. The dummy would naturally have rotted away long since.

Krämer writes (36, vol. 1, p. 468):

"Um diese Zeit heiratete die Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Laufafa e Toga den Tupa'imatuna, den Sohn des Lealali (p. 84 gen 13) aus deren Ehe viele Savai'i-Familien sich herleiten. Sie wird als eine Tochter des Tuitogamania und der Nafanus ausgegeben (III. b. 9. gen 11 p. 96). Von ihm und Lautivunia siehe die Geschichte V. c. 4 und IV. C. c. 1. Nach Fraser No. 5 soll der Sohn des Lautivunia den Bruder seines Vaters totgeschlagen haben und selbst Tuitoga geworden sein."

tured the assassins in Uvea (Wallis Island) after prolonged pursuit and much fighting in Tongatabu, Eua, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, Niue (55, p. 21). Samoa, Futuna, Fiji, and lastly Uvea. Another and somewhat garbled version given me by Mafifakapotu makes Futuna the place of capture of the assassins, and Fevanga and Fefafa their names instead of Tamosia and Malofafa. Undoubtedly this is a mistake, for the names Fevanga and Fefafa are associated with the reign of Momo and the origin of kava. Mafifakapotu's version follows:

"Kauulufonuafeikai and Moungamotua made war on Uvea. They started war because two men killed their father, the Tui Tonga Takalaua. These two men fled to Haapai. Their names were Fevanga and Fefafa. They were driven from Haapai by the two brothers and their soldiers, thence to Vavau, to Niuatoputapu, to Niuafoou, to Samoa, to Uvea, to Futuna. In Futuna the Tui Tonga (Kauulufonuafeikai) caught them. . . . In Futuna the Tui Tonga's troops started to attack the Futunans. They, however, at once brought the murderers to the Tui Tonga. He thanked them and said that they might have a present—that thenceforth all Tongan boats that came to Futuna were theirs. The two murderers were taken to Tonga and executed. The Tui Tonga and his brother buried their father upon their return. After their father was buried, Moungamotua was made temporal lord, because some of the Tui Tonga ruled only a day or two and were assassinated. Fonuamotu is the name of the residence of Moungamotua. Jioeli Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's heir, now lives there."

As Takalaua's body was not buried until the execution of the assassins, it seems likely that it was mummified, probably after the Samoan fashion. That such preservation of bodies was occasionally resorted to in Tonga is attested by other evidence.

Takalaua's marriage to the beautiful Vae, the foundling of Ata Island near Tongatabu, has been recorded in several traditions (26, pp. 31, 60, 62; 54, pp. 294-304). So smitten was his majesty with her charms that he accidentally struck his face with a drumstick which he was wielding when he first saw her.

A brief and hitherto unpublished account of Takalaua and Vae was supplied by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker from the Tongan papers of her father, Dr. Shirley W. Baker. This account which gives Vae's full name as Vaelaveana, states that she was a woman from Ata and the child of a dove (sic.), and that she bore the following children to Takalaua: Kauulufonuafeikai (son), Moungamotua (son), Latutoevave (son), Melineatoa (daughter), and Lotau (son). Takalaua was assassinated while eating food at Mataaho, by two men, Tamosia and Malofafa from Haatafale, who smelt of the sorcery basket. His children came sailing from Nuku. They kissed the feet of Takalaua and left him unburied, while they made war on Tongatabu and conquered it. But the two assassins fled to Eua, then to Haapai, Vavau, Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, Futuna (where Kauulufonuafeikai was wounded), and lastly Uvea. Kauulufonuafeikai conquered all of these islands. At Uvea the assassins were caught and killed. All of the conquered islands came under the rule of the Tui Tonga.

24. Kauulufonua I. Kauulufonua I. received the additional appellation *feikai* (savagage, cruel), because of his drastic punishment of his father's assassins. He succeeded his father Takalaua only after the long period spent in running down the murderers. The Tongan tale of Kauulufonua's search for the assassins received striking corroboration from a legend in Futuna Island, which tells of a Tongan invasion and of the Tongan leader, who, when wounded, shouted, "The gods are fools!" (54, p. 304, footnote). The Tongan versions (26, p. 32) state that Kauulufonua planned before the battle to determine by a test whether his prowess was his alone or whether he was assisted by a god. He planned to defend only his front in the forthcoming battle and to leave his back to the supposed divine protector. He was wounded in the back.

Following Kauulufonua's conquest of Eua, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, and Uvea, viceroys were sent to these several groups (26, pp. 62/67). A Catholic Mission account refers to the Tui Tonga as ruler of Uvea as late as 1797.

Kauulufonua made a radical innovation in government by delegating his temporal authority to his younger brother who was given the title of Tui Haa Takalaua, Lord

of the Lineage of Takalaua. This delegation of the Tui Tonga's temporal duties probably took place about 1470. It marked the beginning of the eclipse of the Tui Tonga, an eclipse which became total with the death of Laufilitonga in 1865. The Tui Tonga retained the privileges and honors of his exalted position, which gave him the best that the land provided in produce and beautiful women. After Kauulufonua I, no more is heard of vigorous warrior kings. All military activity seems to have passed into the hands of the subsidiary officers, notably the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu.

Concerning the relations of Kauulufonua I to Samoa, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says:

"In Samoa heisst er Tuitoga Faisautele (grossen Menschenfrass machend). Er heiratete die Vainu'ulasi (gen 18) und zeugte den Fa'aulufanua (IV. C. b. 5, p. 301) und den Ulualofaligä von Fagaloa (fip.). Er heiratete auch die Popoi und Taufaitoa (gen 20 in IV. C. b. 2) und zeugte den Tuiavi'i, Togiialei und Puipufatu, wahrscheinlich die drei hier folgenden Tuitoga."

Of the three sons of Kauulufonua I mentioned by Krämer only Puipufatu became king. He did not directly succeed Kauulufonua I, as Vakafuhu intervened. In what relation Vakafuhu stood to Kauulufonua I, I do not know; possibly he was a brother of Kauulufonua I. It is of interest to note that Puipufatu was half Samoan, as apparently was Kauulufonua II, who according to Krämer was his half brother. Apparently Tongialelei attempted to seize the throne after slaying either his father Kauulufonua I, or his father's successor Vakafuhu. He was opposed in this by Puipufatu (op. cit., p. 304).

25. Vakafuhu. Concerning Vakafuhu, whom Tongan lists give as the successor of Kauulufonua I, I have no data. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) has the following to say regarding the possible identification of this king in Samoan sources:

"Ein Aloiya'afulu wird in der Vaea-Geschichte (IV. B. c. 12, p. 268) genannt. Auch von Fitiuta auf Manu'a ist ein Va'afulu bekannt (p. 378 gen 18), was um so merkwürdiger ist, als es dort auch einen Tufele giebt. Ein Tofele nämlich kam von Samoa und tötete den Togiialei in Tonga (siehe die Geschichte IV. C. c. 3. p. 304)."

26. Puipufatu. The twenty-sixth Tui Tonga perhaps married in Samoa (op. cit., p. 296) and perhaps his daughter married there also (op. cit., p. 187). Krämer's information seems to indicate Kauulufonua II, the twenty-seventh king, as also a son of Kauulufonua I, by a Samoan wife (op. cit., pp. 468-469).

27. Kauulufonua II. Krämer attributes to Kauulufonua II (Tuitogafa'aulufanua) a Samoan wife, Taupoimasina, who bore him a daughter Vaetoeifanga (op. cit., p. 86).

28. Tapuosi. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) links with either Tapuosi or Fatafehi (the thirtieth Tui Tonga), a "Tuitoga Tupoufei'a". Referring to Tapuosi, he says:

"Tuitoga Tupoufei'a? (siehe gen 24). Eine Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Oloitoa heiratete um diese Zeit den Tagaloafesulu (gen 22 in III. b. 4. p. 91); auch heiratete um diese Zeit ein Tuitoga die Maupenei, die Tochter des La'ulunofovaleane (III. b. 2. gen 19-20 p. 88). . . . Wahrscheinlich ist dieser [Fatafehi] oder der Tabuosi (gen 22) der Tuitoga Tupoufei'a, welcher die Sapioamoa heiratete (siehe IV. B. b. 4. gen 24 p. 249), die ja der Malietoa-Linie entstammte, an die auch der Name des folgenden Uluaki erinnert. Ulu'a'i ali'i ist ein in der Malietoa- und Tuitua-Linie vorkommender Name (siehe gen 23)."

The name Tupoufei'a should be linked with the Tui Kanokupolu rather than the Tui Tonga, for names with the word Tupou are very common in that family.

29. Uluakimata I (Telea). The tales concerning Uluakimata I (Telea) indicate a life of voluptuous ease, in which contemplation of the beauties of the scenery and of women seem to have been the chief pastimes (26, p. 36). It is recorded that his three wives of high rank brought him, in addition to themselves, two hundred women for his harem. The transportation of huge stone blocks from Uvea to Tongatabu for the construction of his royal tomb is attributed to this king. The freight vessel was the famous *Lomipeau* (Under-the-Waves) reputed to have been built in Uvea, but ultimately buried at Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the rudder of the

173
175
643[595]
[764]
[505]

The third lineage, from Samoa, was that of the Tui Amanave. The matapule were Kavapele, Tuivai, Lehapoto, and Uhatafe. Two other versions bring Uhatafe from Rotuma instead of Samoa. Uhatafe later joined the carpenters of the Tui Tonga. The matapule Lehaului was perhaps also of this lineage. 644
613
648

The fourth lineage was that of the Tui Matahau. The first matapule of this lineage was Veamatahau. The Tui Tonga gave him an allotment where he became a gardener and where his descendant still lives. (Indeed, the descendants of most of these matapules still can be traced in various parts of Tonga.) The second matapule of the lineage of the Tui Matahau was Apihala who came from Rotuma. After a time Apihala became the priest of the Tui Tonga and kept a bird named Kalae, "which was a god." As its priest, he fed it. Apihala lived in a house called Rotuma. The other matapule of the Tui Matahau were from Fiji. They were Fakahafua, Alusa, and Ahio. As recounted in the story of Tui Motuliki their coming from Fiji was a momentous event (50). 644
613

A note from Collocott mentions four Falefa matapule: Faingaa, Hoakai, Inukihaangana, and Kavapele. Inukihaangana is not listed in the preceding paragraphs and his affiliation is unknown to me.

As stated above, the appointment or reorganization of the second Falefa is attributed to the twenty-third Tui Tonga, Takalaua, in a manuscript written by Tungi, paternal grandfather of the present Tungi. Takalaua's directions were as follows. (The translation is by Beatrice Shirley Baker.) 643
644

E tuku ae toko fa ke hingoa koe kau Falefa, ko hoku kainga ke nau faiteliha, i he tufa o eku mea katoa, a hoku fai-kava, mo eku katoanga, mo eku mea fakaeiki, mo eku putu, a eku mea katoa e tufa, ko nautolupe e fai e tufa; pea ne pehe: Koe kau tui akimoutolu oe faahinga oku ui koe kau Falefa. Koe toko ua ki toomataui: koe Tui Loloko mo Tui Matahau. Pea toko ua ki toohema: ko Tui Talau mo Tui Amanave. Pea tuku ange takitaha hono fatongia ke fai.

Koe fatongia o Tui Loloko, koe ifi oe tolutolu, moe hiva olka fai ae vae o ha Langi, moe tuku oe utu a Loloko i ha katoanga, pe meape oku fai ae Tui Tonga; moe fakamua tufa, koe hiki ae mea oku manako ai, kae tohi fai ene tufa.

Four will be given the name of Falefa, they shall rule my relatives, in allotting all my things, my kava ring, and my feasts, and my funeral, and my burial, and anything of mine that is allotted, they will do the allotting; and it was so: They are the rulers of those things and are called the Falefa. Two to the right hand: Tui Loloko and Tui Matahau. And two to the left hand: Tui Talau and Tui Amanave. And each was given his duties to do. 643
644
539

The duties of Tui Loloko, were (1) [764] the blowing of the *tolutolu* (shell); (2) the singing at the funeral of the Tui Tonga; (3) the preparing of the oil for the ceremony; (4) doing the thing done only for the Tui Tonga (his funeral); and (5) before the portioning out [of food?], the selecting first of what he likes, then dividing out the portions.

Gifford—Tongan Society

67

Ka koe fatongia oe Tui Matahau, ae mee fakamotu Likli; moe tofi oe tee lupe;^{*} oku fai ae mee, oka fai ae fakamalele o ha Langi, pe ha mea fakaciki, pea fai ae tofi oe tee lupe, oka fai ae vae oe Langi.

Pea koe fatongia oe Tui Talau, ke ne tufa ae koloa, moe ngaue, o ha mea fakaciki oku fakailo mai, mei ha fonua, ae vae oe Langi, pe ko ha mea fakaciki; pea koe kamata oe tufa koia, ihe aho, nae tala mai ai, ae mea kuo fai. E ngatai he aho e fakamalele ai ae mea koia; koe fakafeangai ae haa tufunga, oku ihe tufa ae taha kehe, oku fakafeangai.

Pea koe fatongia oe Tui Amanave. Pea toki hau aipe ae kakai oe otufomua, kia teia, pea vahe ki toomatau mo toohema, pea vahe atu takitaha hono fatongia.

Koe fatongia o Lehauli, koe veka, oku pulou o ki fakaveka, moe mea e taha. Oku takitaha ilope e he faahinga a honu fatongia.

Koe fatongia o Uhatafe, koe ta nafa, moe kai oe toenga taumafa.

Koe fatongia o Lephato, koe fauvaka moe. . . .

Pea koe fatongia oe faahinga e taha, koe uluvali.

Pea toki tufa takitaha ae fatongia ki he kau Falefa.

Tungi's account then proceeds to detail the appointment of Takalaua's other officers, apart from the Falefa.

Pea toki tufa ae fatongia ki he faahinga koeni: Koe fatongia o Paku, koe pulei oe kau toutai vaka oe Tui Tonga, koe toutai Tonga ia.

Koe Tui Faletahi, oku ne pulei ae toutai vaka kotoa, moe toutai ika.

Pea koe fatongia o Hele mo Monuafe, koe kupenga ki he fuke aho.

The duties of the Tui Matahau, consist of (1) the dance like they do at Likli Island; (2) the digging dance; (3) the dance at the finishing feast at the funeral of the Tui Tonga, and after the funeral of the Tui Tonga.

The duties of Tui Talau are the allotting of goods and of work at a chief's funeral when is reported, from some island, that the funeral of the Tui Tonga, or any other chief is to take place. The commencement of the allotting begins on the day on which it is reported what has happened. Those duties will terminate at the finishing feast after the funeral; and the work of the undertakers is to be managed by someone else.

The duties of the Tui Amanave. The people of the different islands shall come to him, and they will be divided some to the right and some to the left, and each shall be given his duty.

The duty of Lehauli [matapule to the Tui Amanave] is to imitate the rail, and he shall cover his head and cry like a rail. Each knows the duties that are his.

The duty of Uhatafe is the striking of the drum, and the eating of the remains of the Tui Tonga's food.

The duty of Lephato is the making of ships. . . .

The duty of some persons is to be sacrificed at the burial of the Tui Tonga.

Thus were allotted the duties to the Falefa.

Then the duties of the following persons were assigned: The duty of Paku is to rule the Tui Tonga's navigators, and he is called "the navigator of Tonga."

The Tui Faletahi [apparently Paku] is the one that governs all the navigators of sailing vessels and the fishermen.

And the duty of Hele and Monuafe is fishing with the net for the "opening day."

^{*} *Tee lupe* is literally "pigeon excrement." This is perhaps a euphemistic term for the ceremony of removing human excrement from the Tui Tonga's tomb, as described by Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 215-220).

The first Matauvave came from Mua, Tongatabu. He was accompanied by an official named Uto [probably Kolomoeto mentioned above]. Matauvave went to live in Uoleva Island. If he wanted to let the people know that he was going to give a command (*fono*) he would send someone to the north shore of Uoleva to remove his garment and expose his buttocks. Then the people in Lifuka would know that the governor was going to give a command as to certain work to be done. If the signal were given in the afternoon, the people assembled that evening in Uoleva. When a chief's grave was to be dug or a pigeon mound to be erected sufficient labor was obtained for the earth to be dug and the mound formed in the night. In the morning the mound (*sia*) would be already made. The only reason the informant could assign for the night work was to make the people "sorry."

Uoleva was set aside as a pigeon reserve and had only the necessary people dwelling on it. The Uoleva mounds were built by the Lifuka people. The name of the first mound built on Uoleva was Finevalapililolo. The second was Siamaka. The third was Siakape; the fourth was Kulufotu. Kulufotu was where the wild pigeons were caught with nets set on long poles, into which they were decoyed by a captive pigeon on a long cord. Tunuetekekekaiteika was the fifth pigeon mound built and Tulikituhaa the sixth. A seventh mound was Mamataatu. The present Matauvave said there were many others built, about thirty in all, but he knew the names of only seven. He said all were provided with ramps or steps and that some were larger than the Siamafuata in Tongatabu. He knew of no sacrifices in connection with pigeon mound construction.

Matauvave would stand on the *sia* of Mamataatu. At dusk a flock of pigeons would make a sudden appearance in Lofanga Island. Then they would come to Matauvave's *sia* and he would catch them. But the *lupetoto* (perhaps "pigeon spirit") died there and not one pigeon came again. Then he shifted to Mutoa in Haano and the name of the *sia* erected there by the Haano people is Toloke. It seems likely that the numerous pigeon mounds on the neighboring Nukunamu Island may have been erected also under a Matauvave's directions. Pigeons migrated from Samoa to Tonga in October, when it was said that anciently they came in such numbers as to look like a cloud. They were said to remain in Tonga until March. [The species is *Globicera pacifica*.]

The mound Huluipaongo on the shore of Lifuka Island, facing Uoleva, is the burial place of holders of the Matauvave title, the latest one interred being the mother's brother of the incumbent of 1920. This mound is said to have originated from the clay thrown ashore by people washing their heads in the sea after building pigeon mounds. The clay used occurs as a subsoil in Uoleva.

The first Matauvave is reputed to have built the fortress Velata, Lifuka Island. All Haapai furnished laborers for this work.

One Matauvave came and stayed in a place called Tokilangi, which stands in Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka. His daughter went to Uoleva and she slipped from the ford (*ahanga*) and hurt herself. That is why the place is called Kofokohaangatoma. All the people were then told to make a road connecting the two islands at low tide and it was called Taaemaka. There were two roads made.

The first Matauvave who was taken to be governor of Haapai died there. He was buried on the seashore at Nuanga, Lifuka Island. His god was Aloalo. Tama-tuiumee was the name of his *api* or tract of land.

Another man was appointed [Taufa Tofua] to dwell in Tofua Island and at the same time the warrior Havili was appointed to stay in Lofanga Island.

Gifford-Tongan Society

73

recorded in Samoan tales and somewhat suggest the suttee (op. cit., pp. 643
94, 344). 545 543

The Tui Tonga was often borne along in a litter. If he saw a bearer 643
who was particularly zealous and went long without a change, he would 493
stop the bearers and tell the zealous one to run, and the man would be given 461
the land around which he ran without a spell. (425)

Mats and tapa upon which the Tui Tonga had rested or sat would not 643
be used again by their owners but taken to the Tui Tonga, or passed to his 425
retinue.

The power of the Tongan kings to commandeer labor is obvious from 643
the number of tombs, and from such a mighty structure as the great truncated 466
stepped pyramid of Uluakimata I, known as the Paepae o Telea. The 349
blocks of stone of which this tomb is composed are massive, some weigh- 764
ing as much as 30 tons. The quarrying and moving of these huge blocks
must have required the labor of large numbers of men.

The following anecdote refers to the hard labor imposed by the Tui Tonga
upon their subjects in connection with the erection of the great royal tombs.

One day, when the men were pulling the stone along from the quarry, they
reached a place called Tongia. They had a short rest there and went and drank at
a water hole called Anameana. So scant was the water that all was consumed be-
fore half of the workmen had drunk, so they started pulling again on the stone and
dragged it to Mua. The people who did not get a drink at Anameana went down to
the two little brooks which are called Pokitau and Malifu and drank all the water
which was there, and yet they did not have enough. They went then to another
brook called Fangafeatu and then they were satisfied.

According to a fanciful version, Mounu, an artificial pier of stones at
Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's seat, was built of the refuse from the great double
vessel *Lomipeau* (26, p. 68). Another version states that it was the begin-
ning of a causeway which the Tui Tonga Pau planned to span the great
lagoon of Tongatabu from Lapaha to Tukutonga on the opposite shore near
the mouth of the lagoon. Whether or not Pau really planned such a work,
it is certain that the construction of the pier represents the organized labor
of a considerable body of workmen doubtless acting under the orders of
one of the kings. The great dry moat at Lapaha is another indication of [712]
centralized control of labor.

Cook (19, vol. 1, pp. 289, 357) speaks of the Siamafuata as a rest 643
mound (*esi*) which was the property of Pau and he mentions also such a 349
mound on the summit of Eua Island. Such rest mounds, surrounded by
shade trees, were frequently erected for kings and great chiefs (42).

If the Tui Tonga's daughter was fed so lavishly that she began to lose 643
her waistline or develop other traits of unloveliness, the servants who were 644
responsible for the overfeeding forfeited their lives at the Tui Tonga's 687
discretion.

The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the *kaingaofi* with the nose kiss. The *matapule* kissed his foot. The *kainanga-fonua* suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was supposed to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga washed his hands.

CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were represented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically mentioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows (op. cit., pp. 276, 277):

Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Ahēfo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtāfihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inari* ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) peculiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

of Tongatabu. On the other side were men from Vaini, Folaha, Pea, and 643
Nukualofa (all in the Loto [middle] District of Tongatabu), from Hihifo 796
District of Tongatabu, and from Fiji. These two lines of antagonists fought 526
a *falulafa* (a sham battle with coconut fronds). Apparently a blow any- 527
where was fair. The people of Eua were particularly expert at this game.
Toamalanga controlled the combat. When he thought that it had progressed
far enough he ordered the Hihifo party to desist: "Loloi matanga ki Hihifo."
(Sit down all westerners.) When they had responded, he ordered the Hahake
(Eastern) party down. Immediately they sat down. Then Toamalanga
made a speech in which he admonished the people: "Behave well because
his majesty the Tui Tonga (Afio ae Tui Tonga) is here. Do not fight
and make trouble."

After Toamalanga's speech the people again stood up. The priests (*taula* 643
tevolo) of various places and (or) their representatives had brought yams 796
called *ufinahaki* (sick yam) the significance of which I could not learn. 527
The representative of the priest of Holonga brought the first yam. Two men
carried a long coconut-leaf basket (*fakaloumasi*) on a pole. The basket
contained only banana leaves, most of the real yams being piled up behind
the assembled people. Then followed the representative of the priest of
Vaini with a real yam (*kahokaho*, a kind particularly reserved for chiefs).
Next followed the representatives of the priest of Houma, also with a
kahokaho yam. Hamula was next in line*. In carrying the yams each of
these places was represented by three men. Two men supported the ends
of the pole on their shoulders, the third supported the yam with his hand.
The pole was carried on the left shoulder. Each of the bearers carried a
war spear of *toa* or *fehi* wood in his right hand, and brandished it. One
man from Hamula lacked a spear but brandished his hand. In addition,
the families, of the priests, both males and females, carried yams. All sang.
"Nofu fei moeke nofo oua e ngaue." (We have come from work.)

As the yams were being carried past the Tui Tonga he arose to depart,
the people doing the same immediately he had left. The yams were carried
to the sanctuary of Fanakava and there cooked and eaten by the priests and
people present. None were taken to the Tui Tonga, for it was forbidden to (1784)
take anything from the premises of a god.

To-day when food is presented to the king, no club fight or other activ- (178)
ities accompany the presentation as in the past.

TOMBS OF THE TUI TONGA

The tombs of the Tui Tonga were spoken of as *langi* (sky). (See 25, 643
p. 125, for list of *langi*.) The Tui Tonga himself was also called *Langi* 764
at times. The tombs are usually faced with dressed rectangular slabs of 349
stone and consist of one or more terraces, so that they are often truncated

* The priest of Hamula was named Kavakimotu. A man of the same title is chief now.

stepped pyramids. Their exact details are accurately described by McKern (42). I give here a list of rulers and their traditional burial places, so far as known. It is Tongan custom to designate dead rulers by their tombs; thus, Tui Pulotu i Langi Tuofefafa is Tui Pulotu I, Tui Pulotu i Langi Tuoteau is Tui Pulotu II.

13. Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou, Langi Tamatou, between Makaunga and Hoi, Tongatabu Island. 643
29. Uluakimata I (Telea), Paepae o Telea, at Lapaha, Tongatabu Island. 764
32. Uluakimata II, Langi Tui Tonga at Lapaha. 349
33. Tui Pulotu I, Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha. 103
35. Tui Pulotu II, Langi Tuoteau, at Lapaha.
36. Pau died in Vavau (50, p. 252).
39. Laufilitonga, Langi Foon, a concrete structure on top of the Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha.

According to a published Tongan account (33, vol. 7, pp. 81-83, 1909) the earliest royal tombs are those in central and southeastern Tongatabu. In the reign of Momo, or of his son Tuitatui, the capital was shifted to Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu and there two royal tombs were erected. Tuitatui's sons moved the capital to Lapaha, where most of the subsequent tombs were erected.

Certain of the larger stones in some of the royal tombs bear special names. Two stones in the Langi Tui Tonga, Lapaha, Tongatabu, are named for chiefs: Tuituihu (son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu) and Vaea (the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua). These named stones further indicate that the Tui Tonga buried in this royal tomb was Uluakimata II. The significance of the stones was not ascertained.

The children of kings who themselves never became rulers were at times placed in tombs which bore distinctive names. Probably this practice of special burial for such individuals was far commoner than the present-day evidence indicates. Examples of such burial are:

1. The son of a Tui Tonga by an Uvean woman is said to be the individual for whom the Langi Maluatonga, at Lapaha, was built. On account of the Uvean blood of the king's son, his tomb is not tapu and is regarded with scant respect. This is why even a commoner will say, "When I am hungry, I eat on Langi Maluatonga."

2. A mound in Nomuka village, Nomuka Island, Haapai, is said to be the tomb of a Tui Tonga's daughter named Ate. (Ate is also the name of the present Tui Haa Ngana's daughter.) The Tui Tonga in question having no wife, sent word that he wanted a woman from Haafeva, named Halakiumata, the daughter of Fauolo of Haafeva. Fauolo sent his daughter and she was married to the Tui Tonga and bore him a daughter named Ate. Ate was sent to Nomuka to look after the Tui Tonga's graveyard. She died at Ahau in Nomuka and was buried in the mound in the present town. The royal tomb she cared for was situated in the district now called Pangai¹ on the far side of the lake (from the present town) and was called Langiatea. [591] [643]

3. Talahiva, the daughter of a Tui Tonga, is buried in the cemetery Tafengatoto, near Neiafutahi (part of the town of Neiafu), Vavau Island.

¹ See page 75 for a different version, in which Ate is the wife.

cide to make the *pongipongi*, the chief Momotu is sent at once to notify the other lineage. If decision is made by the Haa Ngata Motua, it is not necessary for the Haa Havea to bring gifts, though they will be present in court when the Haa Ngata Motua appear before the Tui Kanokupolu. The death of any of the king's relatives is an occasion for the *pongipongi*, though not the only one. It may take place several times a year. For the Haa Ngata Motua, Ata sets the time. To make the presentation to the Tui Kanokupolu before three o'clock in the afternoon is an offense for which Ata will be blamed. The Tui Kanokupolu is apt to make some caustic remarks, and all of the Haa Ngata Motua must seek pardon (*hu*) from the Tui Kanokupolu, when each chief puts on a huge *taovala* mat reaching up his back and over his head as a sign of humility. He also dons a necklace of Tahitian chestnut leaves and sits like a *matapule* before the Tui Kanokupolu. The posture thus assumed is cross-legged, with the hands clasped and the two index fingers resting together and pointing forward. The head must be bowed so that the suppliant does not look at the ruler. Motuapuaka, the Tui Kanokupolu's *matapule*, then makes intercession for the offenders. The *matapules* of the offending Haa Ngata Motua sit behind the offending chiefs and cannot make intercession for their masters.

When the *pongipongi* is made at the proper time, Motuapuaka requests the presenting chiefs to show their gifts. The covers of the baskets of food are lifted by the commoners who have carried them in for the chiefs. In addition to the Haa Ngata Motua or Haa Havea chiefs who are making the presentation, all of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court are supposed to be present.

Similar presentations of food, also called *pongipongi*, are said to have been made anciently to the Tui Tonga.

A ceremony in which the proper representatives of chiefly families present *kie* mats to a great chief or to the king is called *tookie*. It is held on occasions such as deaths, marriages, or great feasts. The term *tookie* might refer also to the division of such *kie* gifts among the members of the family of the one to whom they were presented. The general making of presents to a chief is called *tukufatongia*.

Although I was not present at any presentation of food to the Tui Kanokupolu, I saw in 1920 processions of people bringing food to the house of Mr. Watkin, President of the Free Church, who was temporarily staying at the house of the Free Church minister in the village of Pangai, Lifuka Island. On October 4, thirty to forty people, mostly women, bearing vegetables and fruits assembled at the house of the mayor of Pangai. When all were assembled, they formed a procession, the women wearing great *taovala* mats as signs of respect and humility, and several pairs of men at the end of the line bearing bunches of coconuts and bananas slung from poles on

Gifford—Tongan Society

145

the order of family right to the craft, was severely criticized and socially punished by his family and even by his neighbors. The informant was in doubt as to whether the confirming chief would override such an illogical choice.

If the male members in the family of a *tufunga* lack aptitude, ambition, or any other necessary quality, or show decided inferiority in comparison with someone outside the family, this outsider, following a presentation of gifts to the *tufunga* (from the applicant's family), may be chosen to succeed to the order. This appointee's sons then continue to carry on the particular *tufunga* tradition and practice.

All the people of a village contribute toward the building of the chief's house under the direction of a single *tufunga*.

Some living representatives of *tufunga* families in Lifuka Island, Haapai, are as follows:

Josiah Paluto, *tufunga langafale* and *tufunga lalava*, his father, Job Femuiki, his grandfather and his great-grandfather were also *tufunga*; Ngauamo, *tufunga vaka*; Femuiki, *tufunga langafale*; Mailau Fuopau, *tufungataomaka*.

According to a Vavau informant, carpenters were called the "Children of Tangaloa Tufunga," that is, "Tangaloa the Artisan." A tradition states that before the time of Ulukalala, the carpenters were driven from Vavau during a war and went to Fiji to settle and that there they built a fort, so strong that the Fijians could not take it. This brief snatch of legend suggests a sort of organization on the part of the carpenters, but at the present time there is nothing in the nature of a carpenters' guild.

Only one person in a family held the title which went with a trade. As usual, the title seems to have descended most frequently from the father to the eldest son. Thus the predecessor of Eke, a boat builder of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, was his mother's father, who also was Eke—a title which is bestowed by the chief Ata. The present Eke had the title conferred upon him by the present Ata. Eke is of Samoan extraction and of *matapule* rank; in fact, the name Eke is a *matapule* name. An ancestor of the present Eke is believed to have come from Samoa in the time of Tohuia, the Samoan mother of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu.

The father, paternal grandfather, and a great-grandfather of Fakauho, another house builder of the Hihifo district, all bore the same title and were all carpenters. The present Fakauho, popularly known as Fiso, had his title conferred upon him by the present Ata about 1910. Fakauho is also a stone mason and constructs stone burial vaults (*fouualoto*). Should the chief Ata want a house built, he orders the Fakauho to do the work. Fakauho's assistants are his relatives, but Ata orders commoners to help in the rough and heavy work,

rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so fortunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception.

FISHING

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a seaside community a *toutai*, to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the *pulepola*, assembled at the appointed place and for two days made preparation. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women, and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The *pulepola*, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes.

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighboring *tanungapola*. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia*

chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

Oh! My mind is unsettled, as the wind, and not steady. The wonderment of it! To leave the land in charge of a fool. What is it that will be timely (best) for the chiefs and the land? They run away and live, but I stay and die, because it is a mischievous land. What will they do when they drive their enemies to Hihifo and the people arise and throw spears, as they do at fish when caught in a net drive? [Mumui speaking.]

Oh! Then we will see the true friends. I thought that I was of some use, that I was familiar with difficulties, and that war was my food. But you do not want me, so I will sit down (no longer rule). [Mumui speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

Perhaps I have sinned. Perhaps I have crept to a great chief. Oh, it is the fruit of living with a bad ruler (*hau*). Go, cheat and coward, and sit in the high place of the chief (referring to the kava ring), while I remain with those that serve; while I bear the brunt of your ill-doing. Alas! The joining of the strong hibiscus (chief) with the weak banana stalk (commoner). And is that the reason for the wish that I should come to punishment? If I had crept to your house, or if I had been rude to the Tui Tonga, or to the Mohefo (chief wife of the Tui Tonga), then it would have been right to punish me. When was I thus? And call it clever, and punish me that trusted to Lolopaongo (a high chief). "Why they are fetching men to fight in Hahake, to fight you." [Poet speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left, as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

There, bring the stars for Mumui, the Alotolu (part of the constellation Orion) and the Toloa (Duck, the Southern Cross), and all shining things; make afraid the wind and the breezes, because of Mumui. Bring Ongomalie (reef) and all the (other) reefs, and the thunder from the sky. The voyagers have left. Fear is at the back of the "regiments." Mumui is lord over all. Is there anything like this chief, or in keeping with his great dark mind? My trusting to him was of no use, and my kindness to him was not appreciated. Oh! do not speak again. Exile me to Toku Island. I love the ruler [Mumui], but it will be well for me to go as I am of no service. Stay (good-bye), Tongatabu. [Poet speaking.]

KAVA DRINKING

The traditional first use of kava in a drink is assigned to the reign of the tenth Tui Tonga and to the island of Eueiki, near Tongatabu, and an expression is attributed to this occasion, when the Tui Tonga's matapule said to the Eueiki people, "Fakaua ki Manuka hotau taumafa kava" (Have twice unto Manuka our kava drinking). Whether the Manuka referred to is the place in Tongatabu, or the one in Samoa is not clear. If the reference is to Tongatabu, Manuka may be the polite name for the Tui Tonga himself, in whose honor the people were enjoined to drink twice.

The drinking of kava is exceedingly common in Tonga to-day, reported to be more common than in heathen times. Aside from casual or social occasions, kava was imbibed at all ceremonies, including marriages and funerals. Installation in office or succession to title was legalized in the kava circle by the calling of the new title when the kava was served to

538
539276
173276
574
585
764
428

out of respect to the highest chief. Thus Tungi's sitting outside the coronation kava ring in 1918 was to show respect to the Tui Kanokupolu (Tungi's wife). Tungi had a matapule near him, however, a departure from the custom of the preceding Tungi.

Veehala, Maafu, Ata, and Vahai are chiefs who hand their kava to their matapule. Both chiefs and matapule receive the kava with both hands held low. Each matapule sits on the side of his chief away from the king. When the chief passes his kava to his matapule, he does so with one hand, so that the back of the arm is toward the king. The matapule receives the kava with both hands, holds it a while and then returns it to the chief, who receives it with the same hand with which it was passed. The chief then drinks it. The handing of the kava to the matapule is a sign to the one serving that the matapule must not be overlooked. To do so would be an offense to the chief and would be a cause for war.

Precedence is very important. If there are, for example, two Moala in the ring and the matapule who is serving does not know their distinctive appellations, both may clap their hands when the name Moala is called. The serving matapule then calls for two cups to be filled. If one of the Moala wishes to argue over the matter, he calls for the servers to stop. The order of precedence is then discussed and settled.

All food and kava, brought in *haamo* fashion (on shoulder poles) was deposited before the president in a long row, horizontally facing him. When placed before the president, his matapule chanted, each in his alternate turn, at time intervals of a few minutes: "Fakafetai toho kava; fakafetai fanga puaka; fakafetai ngaue" (Thanks for the *toho* kava; thanks for the pigs, thanks for the ovens of food).

FUNERAL KAVA CEREMONIES

The following account of funeral kava ceremonies for a great chief is derived from a manuscript by the late John Panuve Maatu, chief of Niuto-putapu:

At a funeral, Lauaki serves at the kava parties till the time of the placing of small stones on the grave (*lanukilikili*). Then Motuapuaka takes his place. Thereafter the kava and the cooked food are brought to the grave.

This is the way of thanking the matapule one after the other when all is ready: "Thank you for *kava-noo* (kava bound together). Thank you for *kava haamo* (kava carried on the shoulders). Thank you for *kava hula* (huge kava). Thank you for *kava toho* (kava too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)."

This is the manner of thanking for the work, one thing after another: "Thank you for *ngaue* (a word applied to the preparing of food in a native oven). Thank you for the *feimu fakahunga* (very large food). Thank you for the *feimu hula* (huge food). Thank you for the *feimu toho* (food too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)."

This is the manner of thanking for the pigs: "Thank you for all pigs [except *puaka haamo*]. Thank you for the *puaka haamo*. Thank you for the *puaka hula*. Thank you for the *puaka toho*." 276
574

If there are any ripened bananas [bananas ripened by wrapping in banana leaves], "Thank you for the ripened bananas." Then next is the Tongan pudding (*faikake*), then next is the *too* (shellfish), then the melons, and all things from the land and lastly other things from the sea. 764
(262)

If there is a kava for the women, then this is the order of the thanks: first is the *kie* mat, then the *fihi* mat, then the *kumi* black tapa, then the white tapa (*ngatu taahine*), counted in the thanks for tapa making. Then next are the *fala* mats, then the *efu* mat, then the *kie Tonga* mat. And the last word of thanks is said, "Then thanks for the work done. Thanks for the goods."

After the thanks, the *matapule* who directs the activities says, "Come, look at the cooked food." Then the thanks are said like this, "Yams, good work."

If there is to be any kava drinking at the funeral then the officiating *matapule* says: "Get all your things in the *toua* ready." Then after that he says, "Someone come. Keep that kava to be made."

But first he asks the president (Tui Kanokupolu) which kava is to be taken and made.

After the kava is beaten the *matapule* expects the kava to be made known. Then he says to the persons in the *toua*, "Come, let the work be shown" (so that the king can see the kava better).

After that the man who makes the kava turns sideways and says, "The food (drink) is ready." Then the directing *matapule*, if it is plain to him that the kava is enough for the kava bowl or kava drinkers, says "Deliver, it is ready. Slow, till mixed. Turn, you two; call for water." When the *matapule* thinks there is enough water, he says, "First water." Then one stops pouring the water and holds it out. Then it is understood by the *matapule* that there is enough water and he says, "Stop the water, and mix. Examine and fix the strainer of the kava ready to serve." After he says, "Stop the water," then the remaining unused water is taken away. And when the kava strainer is ready, the *matapule* says, "Mix below and give him the strainer for the kava."

During the time the strainer is in use Motuapuaka takes the opportunity of talking to the people or one of his family does so, or Lauaki or a navigator, if it is his turn for directing. If the king says the kava is not sufficient, then the *matapule* asks the kava maker, "Is the kava ready or is there not enough?"

If it is answered, "It is not enough," he will say,

"Put the strainer in the kava bowl, bring it to the front, and someone come and take more kava."

The *matapule* knows when enough kava or too little is in the kava bowl and it is plain to the *matapule* whether or not to serve the kava in a banana-leaf cup. He will ask this way, "Is there enough kava in the kava-bowl?"

If it is answered, "The bowl is not big enough," he will say,

"Look for another bowl." And that is brought and one of the men from the kava makers divides the kava and takes it to the new bowl.

Then the order is given from the chiefs near the bend of the kava ring, and it is not allowed for Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the Tui Kanokupolu's *matapule* who do the announcing) to speak standing up.

Then their remarks are prefaced like this: "I am going to say a few words. *Tapu* [used by inferiors to superiors, meaning "sacred to thee"] for the Tui Haa Mounga who attends and *tapu* for the Haa Siulangopu and Latu Hifo, and *tapu* for the Maliepo and Molofaha, and *tapu* for the Haa Vaea and *tapu* for the Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu, and *tapu* for the Haa Havea, and *tapu* for the Haa Maafu, and *tapu* for the chiefs all present, and *tapu* for the *toua* chiefs." [The *toua* is the place behind] 554
195

those mixing the kava, where sit the relatives of chiefs.] Then he starts his speech. 276
And when the strainer is in the kava there is no speech and it is not allowed to talk at 574
the time the reigning prince (*hau*) is drinking, for it is for him they are making the 576
speech. 764

After the straining of the kava, the strainer is thrown again to the kava bowl and the matapule who directs says: "You come, make the cooked food good." When that is finished he says, "Count the cooked food."

And this the way of counting the work. They start with the food to be carried called *umu kavetau*, next the food called *umu fakahunga*, next the food called *umu hula*, next the food called *umu toho*. Then after that the pigs are counted. First he counts the pigs (*puaka*) in the earth oven, next the *puaka haamo*, next the *puaka hula*, next the *puaka toho*.

The same counting is done with the kava, just as explained above in the "thanks." Then after it is counted and the quantity is made known, the matapule is informed by the king to keep one oven of food (*feiumu*) to eat when they are drinking kava. Then three other ovens are assigned. The oven in front is kept for the king and Motuapuaka who divides for the chiefs of one side. The second oven is kept for Lauaki who divides for the other side. The third oven is kept for Veehala, beyond the bend of the kava ring.

They first fix up the oven of food for the king (Tui Kanokupolu) and Motuapuaka and when that is finished they then turn out the oven that has been kept for the side of Lauaki.

Then Motuapuaka speaks, saying, "Someone stand up and bring three yams, also the back of the pig and put it in front for the kava-drinkers." The head of the pig is the relish (*fono*) for Motuapuaka. Then the relish is divided amongst the chiefs of his side. And the same is done for the side of Lauaki and his chiefs, but the first chief [King] gets the back, as Motuapuaka gets the head for himself.

It is allowed for the matapule who sits between the chiefs to call someone from the kava makers to get the relish (*fono*), leaving aside the king's share for a certain person to take or leave. The relish that is kept for Veehala is turned out on his side, and the rest is taken to Maafu Tukuiaulahi where it is divided. For Ata and his side the same is done. Then the rest is taken to Vahai and thereafter the basket is thrown out.

When they clap hands for the kava, the matapule who delivers the kava says, "Young men come, prepare the kava and serve the cooked food. Keep it for the kava of (naming person to receive it) and set it to the side." And after taking the kava aside, they deliver the kava and this is the way of delivering. If the kava and cooked food are served together, the king drinks the first cup. If the kava and the cooked food are not served together, the king drinks the third cup, but as to that the king lets them know, for he can do what he likes.

First the chiefs drink, then the matapule in between. After four of each side drink then Veehala's kava is next. After that one of each side drinks, then Tolo's kava is next; but if Matafahi is absent, they also omit Fakailootonga's kava and he drinks later when it is delivered to him.

Then one from either side drinks, then Maafu Tukuiaulahi is next. Then one from either side drinks again and Ata's kava is next. Then one from either side drinks and next is Vahai. And after that two from either side drink then the kava of the Haa Havea in the *toua* is served. Then two from either side drink. Then next is the Haa Ngata Motua, then two from either side. Then next is the kava of the Haa Ngata Tupu and so on; but the matapule who delivers sees that the two sides drink together. And so he continues this way of delivering for all the chiefs until the kava is finished.

When the kava is finished, then one comes from the side of Vahai to the middle and says: "That is all of our kava we can offer." Then the matapule who delivers says, "Take the *toua* away." Then the kava drinking is finished.

though they opposed the move. A chief's *fahu* might share in the land of his deceased mother's brother if he wished. There seems to have been less value set on land anciently than at the present day.

From the standpoint of tenancy the tracts comprise (1) *tofia*, "hereditary" lands of the chiefs and modernly of certain matapules; (2) *api* (rendered *abbey* by some early writers), field either with or without an enclosing fence; (3) *api-kolo*, town lot—a modern development. The term *lotoa* (*ladore* of some earlier writers), designates a fenced enclosure smaller than an *api* and usually next a dwelling. A fenced *api* is called *lotoapi*.

The following anecdotes exemplify the Tongan attitude with regard to the sovereign's ownership of all land.

When parcelling out and confirming the tenure of the lands now held by the various nobles, King George I asked Ata (great-grandfather of the present Ata) where his hereditary lands lay. Ata replied that he had none, that all land belong to the king. The king then told him to take certain portions of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and to call his place of residence Kolovai. Formerly Kolovai was called Pangai and was the seat of the earlier Tui Kanokupolu.

A man named Lolohea parcelled out land on Foa Island among the people at the request of King George I. A piece called Pangai was left over. The king assigned this to Lolohea, saying: "It belonged to your forefathers."

The island of Koloa, Vavau, once the Tui Tonga's personal property, was given by George I to Toamotu, a chief, in reward for war services. There is a long series of similar allotments apparently based on ancient practice. Such allotments did not entail alienation of the land. It was still the king's, but was to be used by the subject to whom allotted. Even cemetery sites were bestowed by George I.

THE PERSONAL LANDS OF THE TUI TONGA

According to a list compiled for King George II by Tafolo, scion of the Tui Tonga family, tracts specifically set aside as personal lands of the Tui Tonga comprise 7 on Tongatabu Island, 12 on Lifuka Island, and 7 on islands in the Vavau group. There are similar personal lands of the Tui Kanokupolu.

Tui Tonga tracts in Tongatabu Island are: Fangaoneone in Mua, Utuleva in Mua, various tracts near Lapaha, Veifoa, Ualako in the Hahake district, Pipi, Haameneuli.

Tui Tonga tracts in Lifuka Island, Haapai are: Otufanga, Ahofaka-siu, Vainafa, Talaufanga, Vailupesia, Vaiola, Olovehi, Matamoana, Utulaaina, Finevalapililolo, Vakataumai, Nakolovou, all of which except Nakolovou are near Tongoleleka—a part of the modern village of Hihifo. Nakolovou is near the modern village of Pangai.

Gifford—Tongan Society

179

land as descendants of Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu, the Haa 423
 Ngata Motua chiefs already having land there. The tracts formerly be- 622
 longing to the Haa Havea have now passed to Ata who is the hereditary lord. 103

The tract Vaoleleva, which is situated near Huatolitoli in the Hahake 173
 district, Tongatabu, was given by the Tui Tonga to Lavaka-vaoleleva and
 Ahomee. It was named after Lavaka-vaoleleva in gratitude for his hospi-
 tality to the Tui Tonga on the occasion when the Tui Tonga's preparations
 for a voyage to Vavau were delayed by a great famine in Tongatabu. On [251]
 this occasion the meals were prepared from two great (breadfruit?) storage
 pits, of which there were many in the tract.

Following the slaying of the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea in 1799,
 a man named Tongalava is reputed to have removed the body to Mua from
 a rock on which his slayers had placed it. At Mua it lay in state in [764]
 a funerary house (*tolia*) for six months, while the royal tomb Langi Loamanu
 was being erected. After the funeral the relatives of the deceased gave three [764]
 parcels of Mulikihaamea's land to Tongalava, in gratitude for his service. [431]
 The parcels are the tracts Toutai, Toutai II, and Tatai. These were to be
 forever the property of his descendants, the donors said.

HAAPAI

The following narrative concerning land ownership in Haapai is told 173
 by Tevita Tunai, of Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai. 643

When they were preparing for the Tui Tonga's trip to Samoa the people gathered 484
 presents for this trip and then Helu brought the presents and the chiefs sailed. When 431
 they arrived in Samoa they distributed the presents and the Samoans were pleased
 with the presents that Helu gave them. When the expedition returned to Tonga, the
 Tui Tonga told Helu to choose anything he liked as a reward for his efficient services. 643
 Helu told the Tui Tonga just to give him a little piece of land. The Tui Tonga said, 431
 "Come and carry me." Then they went up to a hill called Toloke in Haano Island,
 and they turned back from there and then the Tui Tonga asked, "How is this?" Helu 423
 replied, "Go on to the promontory (*muifonua*) at Fakakakai." 173

Then Helu said, "Give me the promontory Houmatata," and Helu was satisfied
 when this was done.

Helu died and was buried in Lotofoa in a cemetery called Monotapu. The first [212]
 Tungi told Tooi and Niulala to remove Helu's bones to Houmatata to bear witness
 that that is Helu's land, and then they cut a stone and inscribed the name and the date
 and the year. This stone was set up as a witness that the promontory was Helu's. The
 Tui Haa Takalaua was the immediate overlord anciently. The brother of the present
 Helu (who is mayor of Lotofoa) was matapule to the first Tungi, who replaces the
 abolished Tui Haa Takalaua line.

VAVAU

Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, claimed unsuccessfully the island of Ma- 423
 fana in the Vavau group upon the following basis: 423
 173

Lutui was the grandfather of the present Lutui. Veamalohi or Tokelau Malohi was the ancestor of Tea of to-day. 423
173

INHERITANCE OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

Wealth (*koloa*) took the form of mats, tapa, and other manufactured articles. When a man died his *koloa* was divided by his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) or his oldest living sister, among the near relatives on both sides of the family, the sister's son receiving the biggest share. Sometimes the relatives came and picked out what they wanted. All *ngatu* tapa and *ngofingafi* mats were buried with the dead. This buried wealth is called *koloa hekekele*. 428
[764]

ADMINISTRATION

The north-south trend of the Tongan archipelago renders communication easy during the time that the Trade Winds blow. Wilson (66, p. liv) says that most, if not all of the islands, were regularly visited by the "sovereign or commander in chief" and that the rulers kept in touch with the rank and file of the population in remote islands, not only through the local governors and stewards, but also by personal visits. Much the same scheme prevails in modern Tonga, for occasionally the sovereign, and more frequently high officials such as the chief justice, voyage to the parts of the kingdom remote from Tongatabu. 643
484
[132]

Although commoners had absolutely no voice in governmental affairs they were assembled in what is called a *fono*, to hear orders from the chiefs. Anciently the *fono* was employed as a means for telling the people what to do in connection with work or war. Every adult in a district had to attend. At such gatherings the chiefs and their *matapules* did the talking; commoners could not speak and had no representatives. Such also is the practice in modern Tonga. Chiefs and sometimes *matapules* had a voice in decisions, though usually it was the duty of the *matapule* merely to convey the chief's orders to the people. It is obvious that a Tongan *fono* was different from a Samoan *fono*, which was a deliberative parliamentary gathering. 621
643
642
565
622
[641]
624
[624]
[171]

The chiefs of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu would have an independent *fono* so far as work in Hihifo was concerned but would probably consult the chiefs of the Hahake district and the Tui Tonga in a subject concerning the whole island, as for instance, war. 622
621
643
634

There were meetings (*fakataha*) of chiefs and of *matapules* to discuss arrangements for various undertakings, such as a funeral feast. A meeting of this nature was not a *fono*. 622
624

Compulsory labor (*fatongia*) dates from early times. No pay was given but apparently food was supplied. It was a sort of corvée system 466

brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *vai*, also brought uncooked; and the *umu manava*, which is cooked. 585

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games and dances are held: (1) *tofoe*, a game; (2) *lanumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *love*, reciting and singing of poetry; (2) dances: *laufofa*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various games. 565
[783]
[524]
[535]
[538]
[533]

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in Tonga. It seems possible that some embalment was practiced in which interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from 1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week, which was the third and final mourning." [127]

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, however, embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation over long periods. [622]

The undertakers of Tonga are of the *matapule* class and are appointed like other *matapule*, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service was rendered by the Tui Folaha. 767
565
[622]
[613]
[644]

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of the Tui Tonga a considerable number of *matapule* of the Falefa (p. 66) had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga. [764]
[644]

The principal undertakers of the Tui Tonga in the time of the first Falefa⁷⁶⁷ were the matapule Aholangamaka and Mailau, who were under the Tui⁵⁶⁵ Folaha, the supervisor of stone vault construction. In the time of the second⁶⁴⁴ Falefa, at least Tui Loloko, Tui Matahau, and Tui Talau, and presumably also the fourth, Tui Amanave, had funerary functions.

At the present time the Tui Haa Teiho appoints Fiefia and Ngau as his undertakers, while the Tui Kanokupolu has the great matapule Lauaki and the lesser matapule Mailau and Mau as his undertakers. Ulukalala of Vavau, like other Vavau chiefs, has no special undertaker, but when he dies it is likely that Lauaki or Mailau, or some other *haatufunga*, will look after him. There are many chiefs without undertakers. [22]

The undertakers now in Vavau are: Kata, grandson and representative⁷⁶⁷ of Lauaki; Vatuvei, formerly appointed by the Tui Tonga; Aholangamaka⁵⁵¹ of Falevai, the son of Vatuvei.

Lamatau (full name Lamatauaki: *lama*, to watch the end of life, and *tauaki*, almost dead) was also a *haatufunga* to the Tui Tonga. His duty was⁷⁶⁷ to watch beside the dying man, sitting with a *kie* or *ngafingafasi* mat to spread⁶⁴³ over the corpse. The mat was supplied by the family of the dying person.⁷⁶³ [551] After covering the corpse with it, the watcher removes the mat and goes off with it, retaining it as his property.

Preparation of the body for burial may be done also by relatives of equal⁷⁶⁴ or superior rank to the deceased, such as the *fae* (mother, real or classificatory) or the *mehekitanga* (father's sister, real or classificatory).

Mailau was the title of the matapule who supervised the cutting and moving of stones for the construction of royal tombs. Such work was⁷⁶⁴ done⁶⁴³ by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 150). Modern royal tombs are built of concrete; formerly they were of coral limestone. The Tui Tonga Laufilitonga's⁷⁶⁷ tomb, Langi Foou, is built of concrete on top of the ancient Langituofefafa.³⁴⁹ [644] A list of royal tombs called langi is published (25, 125). The modern kings, the Tui Kanokupolu George I and George II, are buried in great terraced concrete tombs in the Malae Kula at Nukualofa.

Upon the undertakers the *nimatapu* (hand-tapu) was imposed for five,⁷⁶⁷ ten, or fifteen days, which meant that they could not feed themselves for⁷⁸⁴ that length of time after handling a corpse—being fed by others. The period²⁶⁴ varied with the rank of the deceased. The penalty for touching food was⁵⁶⁵ said to be punishment by the highest chief of the family. A *haatufunga* might or might not be a relative of the deceased. That the hand tapu on⁵⁶⁵ the undertaker followed the handling of the corpse of persons of scant rank is not certain.

Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*. Anciently a⁷⁶⁴ commoner's corpse might or might not receive such attention, and it was⁵⁶⁵
767

likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompanying feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and tapa which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse before payment is made to the *haatufunga*. The reason for the intervals was not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the payment is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional proceeding.

The funeral feast is called *feipulua*, the breakfast served by the family of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi*; the funeral of a chief, *meafakaciki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu*.

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled.

Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaui*, to be sung at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated, extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual, excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201). 765
533

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or *matapule*. Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so mourning for him. [565]

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singd) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to whether *matapule* followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign of respect and mourning. 765
622
302
[623]
[593]

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is not long. 765
554
[784]
[602]

The term *fakakoloo* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga, Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to carry it. 764
[554]
[462]

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his *matapule* and retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in connection with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as- 763
343
764
343
[563]
768

sembled for the chief's use and comfort while he lived, were disposed of. 768
After the *fahu* took the pick of these, the *haatufunga* distributed the remainder among important chiefs and matapules, retainers, and relatives of the deceased, but kept a goodly share for himself, however.

The house built over a chief's grave was also called *faletolia*, according 765
to my information, which is perhaps in error. Its practical purpose was to 349
shelter the ornamental grave design (*fungaputu*) from wind and rain. The purpose avowedly ascribed to it, however, was that of protecting the dead chief from the sun and rain. There was no priest or caretaker in such a house, nor was food put there. Tapa and mats might be placed in it by way of remembrance. Such objects might be replaced with fresh ones from time to time. Sometimes a coconut leaf screen was put around the grave within the house.

The *falefeao* was an inferior dwelling house built near the *faletolia* of 342
a dying chief, and used as a dwelling by his attendants. Some houses might 763
already be located conveniently near the *faletolia*; others were especially constructed on the spot or moved from a former site. Baker's definition of *falefeao* as "the house built near the god's house for the reception of the sick" (no doubt when seeking divine intervention for a cure) would seem a more apt definition for *faletolia*, however. He says also that the *falefeao* may be any house built or used for those attending a superior's wants on some special occasion.

When one was about to die and the people were sent to fetch the sand 763
for the grave, one person was sent to get a branch of the *aveave* and put it in the place in the cemetery where the sand from the beach was to be deposited. This was termed *ae aveave* (to plant the *aveave*). This branch was not removed but allowed to grow.

The digging of the grave is the last of the preparations and is never 764
done while the sick person is still alive. Should the burial be postponed after the grave has been dug, the grave is filled up and the same site dug out afresh on the day of burial.

The funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse are called 765
takipo. A high chief has more lights than a commoner. There are three 416
people to a torch, one to hold it, two to replenish it. The torch holders face the body, but are not near it. The earliest traditional mention of the *takipo* is afforded by the story of the death of the famous Tui Tonga Tui-tatui who reigned about 1200 A. D. (26, p. 45).

Old, torn mats (*tauangaa*) are worn as a sign of mourning for a near 765
relative. For a remote relative who is not a chief a good mat may be worn. 602
The mourning mat worn by a chief over his tapa garment is called *fakanga-* 292
fingafi. The generic term *taovala* applies to *tauangaa* and *fakangafingafi*. Neither tapa nor modern textile cloth may be so worn.

The word *sia* (25, p. 199) refers to any mound, artificial or otherwise, including grave mounds; but a chief's tumulus was not called a *sia*. It was called a mountain (*mounga*) as a compliment to the high rank of the interred. The burial places of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha were called *langis*; those of lesser dignitaries were called *faitoka*. The *langis* were rectangular, the *faitoka* circular tumuli. Such tumuli are common and contain burial vaults. The chief's retainers were sometimes buried in the mound around the vault, thus giving rise to the erroneous modern idea that the word *faitoka* means a cemetery, rather than a single tomb. 764 (643) (644)

McKern (42) treats fully of these burial vaults. Two ancient tumuli which I observed on Eua Island were respectively 10 and 15 feet high and had shell and coral on top, and in the higher of the two, the stone slab covering the vault was exposed. 764

Black volcanic pebbles (*hikikili*) were used, among other things, to decorate the graves of chiefs, their relatives, and matapules. The graves of commoners were said not to be so decorated anciently. The mound over a commoner's grave was called *tanuanga* and the excavation for the burial of a commoner *lanuanga*. There is at Koulo, Lifuka Island, Haapai, a graveyard for commoners. It is called Anatatangi. There are said to have been no graveyards for commoners formerly. The *tua* was buried anywhere convenient, usually in the tract where he lived, and his grave was not cared for beyond the generation of those relatives living at the time of his demise. In the bush to-day are to be found many remains of the ancient rural population of commoners. 764 (565) (531)

The term *fakafalekahai* refers to the burying of a child or dearly beloved relative in the dwelling house. This was done for sentimental reasons, "so that the deceased might still sit with them in the home circle." It seems to have been practiced only by commoners. 764 (565)

Cave burial was sometimes resorted to. I saw near Houma, Eua Island, a cave in which the people were buried in rows. Formerly the entrance was closed by a slab. A tidal wave smashed it and stirred up the bones within. Vakauta, my informant, said that the people in the cave were people who dwelt with Falekaono, a Vavau chief who had a tract at Tufuval, in Eua.

The decorating of the grave took place from several days after a burial to two years thereafter. Black volcanic pebbles, red coral, white coral, and sand were the principal materials used in the decorating. The grave decorating was followed by one day of feasting. The actual work of decorating and the accompanying feasting were called *lanuhikikili* (*lanu*, color; *hikikili*, black volcanic pebbles used in grave decorating). No ceremony took place at the grave in connection with the decorating, the 765 (531)

work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker. 765 531

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love), which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang wreaths and girdles called *sini* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, but mats and tapa may be. 462 476 261

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing it and authorized his official *matapule* to gather materials and perform other necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of *matapule* rank, the chief to whom that *matapule* owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed *matapule*. 765 531 565

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott: 764 565

Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave, and behold the remains of Tukuaho. A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave. 767 533

A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave. 764 767

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only 784

Gifford—Tongan Society

203

Only

the *haatufunga* were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafao* or attendants of the great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nana-sipauu (Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufile-tonga), and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father). 764
[784]
[767]

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the interest of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26, pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tumulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest Makaui had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-compartment stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse. 764
349
793

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christianity has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart. 764
865
[177]
[593]

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living at Muitoa, Huano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai, was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from informants as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. However, a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general ancient conception I cannot say. 143
826
[266]

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island, vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga- 838

[1812 - 1845]

210

Bernice P. Bishop Museum—Bulletin 61

them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofou, Vaini, and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (longa, a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuihau who was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten.

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war. As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uihā themselves. And it was reported that [the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

[1812-1845]

Gifford-Tongan Society

211

of Nukualofa, the friends of Tupoutoa were like the seaweed that is taken by the current, they separated themselves and stayed as though they had joined Tonga. Only Ulakai, the paternal half brother of Tupoutoa, came with a few men. When the fleet arrived at Uiha they took Tupoutoa's body on shore. And after the *toloveifua* ceremony (presentation of gifts to bereaved) and the *ta-mee* (dancing) and the ceremonies of the funeral were over, Ulakai was appointed king at Veilupesia (in Uiha). That commenced the disturbance at Haapai. 173
643
764

Neither Haapai nor Vavau had any love for Ulakai, because of the separation of Nukualofa from them. Fuapau joined Tui Haa Ngana and they took Ulakai to Haa Ngana as though they had joined together; and Uihla stayed at Uiha and the Lulunga (western Haapai) people went to Tungua. The Lofanga people went to their own island. Lauflitonga (later Tui Tonga) went to Velata and dug strong fortifications there. Tuita went to Pangai and Ulukalala went to Toa. Each dug his fort. They did not dig fortifications for war but for protection, as no one had been appointed as supreme ruler over them. They did this while waiting for the *toloveifua* that was said to be coming from Tonga. Taufaaahu (later King George I) was still going about as a youth with Ulukalala, because he had not reached his thirtieth year. Vavau rose up and dug fortifications: the forts of Lua and Vuki at Feletoa stood for Haapai. Tonga waited, then sent three vessels. It was not war, they came only to see Ulakai. They chose the bravest warriors in Tonga to come. The ship with three houses on deck (*falevokatolu*) and the canoe with two houses on deck (*falevaka*) and the ship with eight houses on deck, all had come because Haapai was in confusion. The Tui Haa Teiho sided with Fuapau and Ulakai. They had come trusting to that perhaps. They all assembled at Haano, the vessels from Tonga, Haapai, and Ulukalala's vessels from Vavau. Ulukalala's vessels went perhaps to see what the other vessels were doing. There was an entertainment which was called *mangisi* (feast prepared for strangers) because there was a vessel that had just arrived from Fiji. 173
669
726
173
669
712
726
[884]
173
669
[501]
[574]

The vessels were prepared and approached like the *veli* (a water insect like a centipede). They said, "Fight," and Fuapau answered, "Fight." Fuapau was not still siding with Ulakai and the vessels from Tonga, but with Haapai's party. But Tui Haa Teiho still sided with Ulakai and his vessels and was one with them. Ulukalala and his vessels stayed at a distance at Loloko and did not go to the feast. Only a few of them went and the war was suppressed. After that Ulakai returned to Tonga. Then Haapai settled down in peace. Vessels were prepared to take Ulukalala to Vavau and all Haapai went. Some people of the chief Vuki were murdered and there was nearly war. But Ulukalala's people were crafty and soon they were reconciled, and Ulukalala went and dwelt at Feletoa. The Haapai people returned to their own island. And they dwelt thus as though Vavau were submissive to Vuki. They watched each other like two male turtles, smooth on the surface only. 173
669
726

One day Vuki went down to have a bath in the stream Tufutele. When he came out of the water he met Ulukalala in the road. They conversed pleasantly, and Ulukalala invited him to go with him to his place and have some kava. Messages were sent to Ulukalala's people to come and make the kava and Vuki was asked to stay in the inclosure of Finau (Ulukalala) while men were sent to club Vuki's people, the people that had clubbed Taliauli-Malohi. Vavau subsided and proved the truth of the saying of Taufaaahu: "Vavau is like a handful of dry sand." They let down Vuki whom they had upheld, while they turned and upheld Ulukalala. It is true what Satulo says, "I will not be friendly with a double tongued people." Vuki was banished to Haapai and Finau (Ulukalala) was supreme ruler at Vavau. He portioned out the land at Vavau and he gave each of the chiefs a piece of land. The piece of land called Leimatua belonged to Taufaaahu. Finau (Ulukalala) knew that that piece of land was Taufaaahu's, so he ill treated the people. Taufaaahu knew that the people were ill treated because of him, so he sent word to the elders (or principal men) to go and tell Finau that he had given back the land to him, to please himself as to whom he would give it. It was done, and Taufaaahu withdrew. Just about that time 173
669
726
[515]

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [71]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*
refers to 'old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotolahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts
upon which they stood. For example, *Falemanaia* applied to a god-house
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the *Falemanaia* stood is now
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,
the shrine of the god *Finautauiku*, was also the caretaker of the cemetery
Loamanu, wherein the *Tui Haa Takalaua* were buried, and where small
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was sug-
gested by the priest *Kautae* that they were purely decorative, which would
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was wor- 776
shipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but
to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

Gifford—Tongan Society

319

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and 776
of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was 613
attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under
the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage
were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members
of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn 776
of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family 463
might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a 592
matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers,
might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family
rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between 793
the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the 775
spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family 769
through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, 613
a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. How- 753
ever, other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to.
The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken
out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the 753
spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through 764
or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors 775
sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light,
supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot
where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only 776
families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron 565
gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity. 592
The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele
Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and 825
there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Meth- 784
odist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, 262
even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes 776
manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the 793
god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people 787
must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to 776
have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the 643
great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Moheki-
fiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose
priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants de-
clared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou; by other informants
a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-

fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: (1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) following the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of certain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often consisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called *tuputalinafi*. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) describes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu, father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's *fahu*) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410) a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disemboweling. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death (See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems doubtful if the *moheofo*, or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cremation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-man).

The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his body. The *matapule* acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive. His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his *matapule* to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao*. Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao*.

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the *fakafeao's* head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao*, or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of *matapule* or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

would choose a friend of his own to superintend operations on the end of the rope by which the stone slab was lowered into place, and his saying to this friend, "Pulu hoo tuku kau moui," was a request to let down gently in order to give him a chance of life. The name of an undertaker Mailau is preserved as having been so shut in a vault. In the ceremonies following burial the matapule of the chief, either successor to the dead man, or the head of the family before, sat on the chief's right hand and the undertaker sat on his left. On this occasion, since Mailau was in the vault and unable to take his position and perform his duties on the left of the chief, someone went each morning and called to him the work that had been done, and enumerated the ovens of food that had been presented. For eight days the unfortunate man in the vault called out the appropriate thanks, but on the ninth morning there was no response from below, and presuming that Mailau was dead, the chief proceeded to the appointment of his successor.

Burial alive of a victim beneath a house post may have been an occasional practice in Tonga. One instance only came to light and that in connection with the erection of the Falemee, which was a temple, presumably to Hikuleo, on the island of Haano, Haapai. Dr. S. W. Baker in a lecture given on November 2, 1866, made the following statement about it:

I have stood in the old Fale Mee at Haano, which is the last fale otua (temple of their god) still standing in Haapai. At the foot of the principal post there is buried a man, who was said to be the best singer in all Tonga. He was offered a living sacrifice to the god at the building of the temple, as an act of dedication.

The launching of great vessels over the bodies of commoners was asserted by the chief Ata in reply to a leading question. He said that he had heard such a tale from the chief Fulivai of Vavau. The information was volunteered by another informant that a chief once killed one or two men who were aiding in the launching of a great vessel, in order to stimulate the remaining men to greater effort. Takai, the one-eyed chief of Pea, Tongatabu, on one occasion killed the first man of a crew that was tugging half-heartedly on the ropes by which a great stone slab was being moved from the weather shore to Pea.

One informant told of the title Tupou Angataha which was an office dedicated to sacrifice:

A Tupou Angataha had proven a traitor in war to the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga [probably before his appointment]. As a punishment Laufilitonga ordained that a Tupou Angataha should die every other day. The duty of selecting each new appointee was placed in the hands of Tupou Vakehekehe, a chief of the Haa Ngata. Each new Tupou Angataha was proclaimed by the matapule at the kava circle of Laufilitonga. The Tupou Angataha appointed one day was executed the next day by the club or the strangling cord. How many victims were thus appointed and executed was not known. The last appointee fled from Tongatabu to Haapai and not only escaped execution himself, but put an end to the series.

The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead relative several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them up. This method is looked upon as infallible. 763
775
764

When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! 763
753
768
593
Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would ensue. 763
784
764
262

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a superstitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be accursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the administering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death. 626
763
695
The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-seated that swearing falsely results in death.

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of themselves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have averted such a fate by confession. 695
626
685
763
783

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of the book holders. 675
779
782

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148). The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that waves." 782

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast. Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction. Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu 784
[17]

669 had another review like the former; and after
 726 remaining two days, sailed with all the rest of
 [716] the forces of the confederate islands, amount-
 ing in all to about one hundred and seventy ca-
 noes, direct for the island of Tonga. Owing to
 the calmness of the weather, they did not reach
 their destination the same evening in sufficient
 time to land, but went on shore at a small island
 close by, called Pángaimótoo, where they passed
 the night.

778 Before morning, several presents were
 [634] brought to Finow and his chiefs, by the people
 [431] living at a consecrated place on the island of
 Tonga, called Mafanga. Mafanga is a piece
 of ground about half a mile square, situated on
 [716] the western part of the island. In this spot are
 [764] the graves where the greatest chiefs from time
 immemorial have been buried, and the place is
 therefore considered sacred; it would be a sa-
 crilege to fight here, and nobody can be pre-
 vented from landing: if the most inveterate
 enemies meet upon this ground, they must look
 upon each other as friends, under penalty of the
 displeasure of the Gods, and consequently an un-
 timely death, or some great misfortune. There
 are several of these consecrated places on differ-
 ent islands.

726 The following morning, Finow with several
 669 of his chiefs and matabooles landed at Ma-
 634
 796
 769

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

141

ignorance of its being about to take place. He⁶²⁸ acknowledged, however, that Toobo Toa con-⁶³⁴fided to him his intentions, and asked his assistance, which he promised: but that he had made this promise without meaning to fulfil it; thinking by this method to satisfy for a time the urgent solicitations of that chief: lest, not having made it, he should undertake the rash act before proper measures could be adopted to prevent it.

While he was yet speaking, his own wives and women, having been sent for, came and sat down behind him. His speech being ended, half an hour's silence ensued; nobody daring to deliver his sentiments. The company then rose, by Finow's order, and followed him to his house. As he passed the body, he ordered it to be lifted up and carried before him.

When the procession arrived, the body was⁶³⁴ laid down on the outside of the house, and⁷⁶⁴ washed all over with a mixture of oil and water (as is always customary.) This office was per-^[784]formed by one of Finow's wives and Mr. Mariner; nobody else offering to do it, on account of their objections to being *taboo'd* *. Finow's^[643]

* No person can touch a dead chief without being *taboo'd*^[166] for ten lunar months, except chiefs, who are only *taboo'd*²⁶⁴ for three, four, or five months, according to the superiority of the dead chief; except again it be the body of Tooitonga,⁵⁶⁵ and then even the greatest chief would be *taboo'd* ten^[643]

634 wife did not mind it, because she was already
 764 *taboo'd* from having touched the dead body of
 784 the late Tooitonga nine months before, and had
 643 consequently got accustomed to the inconven-
 eniences of it; and Mr. Mariner did not hesitate
 to do this last office to his friend, because he
 had no superstitious fears of the consequences
 of not submitting to the *taboo*. The body, be-
 ing washed, was brought into the house, laid
 on a large bale of *gnatoo*, and anointed with
 sandal wood oil. Toobó Nuha's widows (four
 in number) now came in to mourn over the
 dead body of their departed chief. They en-
 tered beating their breasts and faces, and
 screaming with all the agony and frantic agita-
 533 tions of mad women. They sat down close
 539 round the corpse, and in a most dismal strain
 began singing

634 months, as was the case with Finow's wife above mention-
 764 ed. During the time a man is *taboo'd* he must not feed him-
 784 self with his own hands, but must be fed by somebody else:
 he must not even use a toothpick himself, but must guide
 766 another person's hand holding the toothpick. If he is hun-
 264 gry and there is no one to feed him, he must go down upon
 his hands and knees, and pick up his victuals with his
 565 mouth: and if he infringes upon any of these rules, it is
 643 firmly expected that he will swell up and die: and this be-
 lief is so strong that Mr. Mariner thinks no native ever made
 829 an experiment to prove the contrary. They often saw him
 feed himself with his hands after having touched dead chiefs,
 and not observing his health to decline, they attributed it to
 his being a foreigner, and being governed by different Gods.

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

143

O iaooé ! sooké !
O iaooé ! goa máte é.
O iaooé ! goa te ófa é.
O iaooé ! goa te tángi é.
O iaooé ! mówmbw é.

634
764
533
539

Alas ! woe is me !
Alas ! he is dead !
Alas ! how I respect him !
Alas ! how I lament his loss !
Alas ! here are his ruins !

These verses were repeated over and over again, without any order, during the whole night; the mourners frequently beating their breasts and faces, and now and then making exclamations regarding themselves, as to what would become of them now they had lost their great chief and protector, and with him all their happiness and comfort. The house was lighted up by lamps with cocoa-nut oil. About one hundred and fifty persons were present, among whom were Finow and Mr. Mariner; both of whom staid the whole night. Finow's wives retired to rest. Mr. Mariner deeply felt on his mind the depressing influence of these sorrowful lamentations. The poor unfortunate women at intervals only sobbed and mourned for a time, then broke out loudly as before; till by degrees, the voice growing weak, sunk into a hoarse murmur; as if all the powers of the soul were fast declining under a weight of

634
764
[533]

(354)

634
764 anguish, never to rise again; then a heart-rending exclamation of sorrow from one spread its contagion to all the rest; and thus was the whole night spent in lamentations for the death of a good and great man; who, as far as human judgment can determine, was unjustly accused, and undeservedly sacrificed.

[484] During all this time, the chiefs and warriors of the king kept themselves on the alarm, expecting every moment a revolt from the people of Toobó Nuha. Every thing, however, remained quiet. The following morning Finow issued orders for the body to be carried on board a canoe along with him, to proceed to the island of Wiha; this was accordingly done, and they set sail, sixty or seventy other canoes following, with the Vavaoo people, and several of the king's warriors. When they arrived at Wiha, a grave was opened for Toobó Nuha in the *fytoea** of his ancestors, wherein his body was deposited in the presence of all who came in the canoes, besides a considerable number of the natives of the island †.

* *Fytoca*, a burying-place, including the grave, the mount in which it is sunk, and a sort of shed over it. The grave of a chief's family is a vault, lined at the bottom with one large stone, one at each side, and one at the foot and head, and is about eight feet long, six feet broad, and eight feet deep, covered at the top with one large stone.

[128] † The ceremony of this burial is omitted, as being similar

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

145

As soon as the corpse was let down into the grave, one of those who had assassinated him, ⁶³⁴Chioolooa, a great warrior and a powerful man, ⁷⁶⁴advanced forward into the middle of the circle, brandishing his club, and addressed the Vavaoo people to the following effect: "If there be
 "any among you harbouring secret thoughts
 "of revenge, keep them no longer buried in
 "your bosom, meditating plans of future insur-
 "rection, but come now forth and fight me on
 "the spot, for by sacrificing me, you will re-
 "venge his death: I am the man who acted a
 "principal part in his death; come on, then,
 "one and all, and wreak your vengeance on
 "my head!"—Nobody, however, accepted this
 challenge; not but there were many Vavaoo
 chiefs who would willingly have done it, had
 they not thought better to reserve themselves,
 to effect a future and more signal vengeance.
 The stone was now put over the grave, and the
 company dispersed.

During the whole of this time, in conse- ⁶⁶⁹quence of Finow's orders, every circumstance
 was attended to that might prevent an insur-
 rection on the part of the Vavaoo warriors.
 The four carronades which Finow had brought
 with him were drawn up before the fencing in
 to, though not quite so formal, as what will be described ^[28]
 hereafter on the occasion of Finow's death.

687 Fishmen were much indebted to him, as well
157 as to the other two, for many acts of kindness.

124 Mr. Mariner heard the foregoing relation from Talo, and two or three others that were in the large canoe, and considers it strictly consonant with the truth.

764 The widows of those who were executed on
152 the beach in the morning, and of those who were dispatched at the small island in their way out to sea, petitioned Finow to grant them leave to perform the usual rites of burial in behalf of their deceased husbands, which the king readily acceded to: and they accomplished the ceremony with every mark of unfeigned sorrow and regret. When the last
(666) affectionate remembrances of Nowfaho were made to his widow, she appeared greatly moved; for, though she scarcely wept, her countenance betrayed marks of violent inward agitation: she retired to her house, and, arming herself with a spear and club, went about to seek for the other widows, who had lost their husbands in the same way, and urged them to take up arms, as she had done, and go forth to revenge their husbands' death, by destroying the wives of Finow, and his principal chiefs; finding, at length, that none of the others were willing to follow her example, she

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

287

was obliged to give up the design altogether. 764
 It was suspected that Finow would have been 152
 very angry on hearing her intention, but, on 668
 the contrary, he praised it much, and approved
 of it, as being not only a meritorious act of
 bravery, but a convincing proof that her affec-
 tion for her deceased husband was great and
 genuine.

After this transaction all the Vavaoo chiefs 634
 paid remarkable attention to Finow, not fail- 565
 ing to send him frequent presents of cava, 431
gnatoo, &c., and this they were the more
 anxious to do, as, being the richest men in the
 island, they were apprehensive that, in case
 their conduct displeased Finow, he might form
 another conspiracy against them, with a view
 to deprive them of their possessions; for they
 now found by woful experience, that he was
 not a man to be trifled with, and that his ho-
 nour was not safely to be trusted to.

The king now spent a considerable portion 634
 of his time in country excursions, for the pur- 517
 pose of shooting *calai*, of which sport a de-
 scription has already been given. About this 484
 time a canoe was dispatched to the Hapai 226
 islands, for the purpose of procuring a quan- 133
 tity of fish, several species being there found
 in much greater abundance than at Vavaoo, or,
 at least, there is a much better opportunity of

593 speechless. During the night her father, with
 694 anxious solicitude, sat by the side of her mat,
 763 watching, with sighs and tears, the progress
 of her disorder. The next morning, which
 brought no sign of returning health to enliven
 the hopes of an afflicted parent,—Finow gave
 directions to proceed to Macávē, the place at
 Vavaoo where (as the reader will recollect)
Booboonoo, *Cacahoo*, and several other great
 warriors, were seized by Finow's orders. By
 the time they had got a little more than half
 way to Vavaoo, the poor child died. Immediately
 all the female attendants began to lament
 in a most woful strain, beating their breasts
 with violent agitation, and exhibiting every
 mark of sorrow and despair;—but Finow sat in
 silence and dejection, weeping for the fate of
 his daughter. In a little time they reached the
 coast of Vavaoo, and took the body to a large
 house, called Bōóno, (six posts,) on the *malai*
 at Neafoo, followed by Finow, his wives, chiefs,
 matabooles, and attendants, all habited in mats.
 The body was laid out on a fine and beautiful
 Hamoa mat, and then washed over with a
 mixture of oil and water: after which it was
 anointed with sandal-wood oil.

593 It must be here noticed, that the king had
 694 determined, in the event of his daughter's
 764 death, not to bury her exactly after the Tonga
 766
 177

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

361

fashion, but partly according to that, partly agreeably to the custom of Hamoa, and partly according to a fancy of his own. After the body was washed and anointed with oil, it was wrapped up in fourteen or fifteen yards of fine East India embroidered muslin, which had formerly belonged to one of the officers of the Port au Prince. It was next laid in a large cedar chest, which had been made on board the same ship, for the use of Mr. Brown, out of some cedar planks taken in a prize. Over the body were strewed wreaths of flowers, made for the purpose by her female attendants. Orders were now issued by Finow, that nobody should wear mats, (although it was customary on such solemn occasions,) but should dress themselves in new tapas (this is the Hamoa custom); and instead of *ifi* leaves round their necks, he ordered that they should wear wreaths of flowers, (this was an idea of his own,) as if dressed for some occasion of rejoicing. The chest was placed on two large bales of *gnatoo*, in the middle of the house, and the body laid thus in state for the space of twenty days; during which time Mooónga Toobó, Finow's principal wife, and all her female attendants, remained constantly with the body. In the course of the first night the mourners broke out in a kind of recitative, like that on occasion

599 of the death of Toobó Nuha, (p. 143,) but in a
 634 very imperfect way, because Finow had ordered
 764 that no appearance of sorrow or sound of
 766 lamentation should be made; but, in spite of
 [533] this injunction, they occasionally could not re-
 strain their grief, beating their breasts with
 every mark of deepfelt anguish. It is difficult
 to conceive the reason of Finow's whimsical
 conduct on this occasion, unless it were (as ge-
 nerally interpreted) an impious and revengeful
 endeavour to insult the gods, by ordering those
 ceremonies not to be performed which were
 considered objects of religious duty on such
 sacred occasions. Every morning and evening
 provisions and cava were brought for the enter-
 tainment of those who attended on the body.

[177] On the nineteenth day it was removed from
 the cedar chest, and deposited in the model of
 a canoe, about three feet and a half long, made
 for the express purpose, and nicely polished by
 one of Finow's carpenters (this is the Hamoa
 [562] custom). By this time the body had become
 much inflated, and extremely offensive; but
 the office of removing it was performed by
 some foreigners, natives of Hamoa, who were
 accustomed to such tasks*. During the whole

[177] * At Hamoa (the Navigator's island) it is the custom to
 [177] keep the dead above ground for a considerable length of
 time, as above related: as the body, during this period, is

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

363

During the whole of this day, and the following night, the body⁵⁹³ inclosed in the canoe, with the lid closely fast-⁶³⁴ ened down, remained in the house: in the⁷⁶⁴ mean time Finow issued orders for a general⁷⁶⁶ assembly of *all* the inhabitants of the island, to⁷⁶⁵ take place the ensuing morning, before the house, and nobody to be absent under any pretext whatsoever, not even that of illness.

Early the following day all the people, ac-⁶³⁴ cording to Finow's orders, assembled before⁵⁹³ the house, where there was a large supply of⁷⁶⁵ provisions and cava for the conclusion of the⁷⁶⁶ ceremony. In the mean time the body was conveyed to the Fytóca, where it was depo-^[764] sited, inside the house, without any pomp or form, not within the grave, but on the top of it, that Finow might see the coffin whenever he pleased, and take it away with him whenever he went to a distance.

On this extraordinary occasion, which the^[526] caprice of Finow rendered a scene of rejoicing rather than of mourning, after the provisions

apt to become very inflated, it is the duty of a relation to prevent this happening to a great extent, by the practice of a most disgusting operation, viz. making a hole in some^[177] part of the abdomen, and, the mouth being applied, sucking out the putrescent fluids, and spitting them into a dish: and^[171] this is done out of love and affection for the deceased, without any apparent signs of disgust! Mr. Mariner had this from several natives of Hamoa.

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

373

merely ordered his spies to keep a strict eye ⁶³⁴
upon their proceedings, and to obtain all the ⁶⁶⁸
farther information they well could, without in-
curring suspicion. At the same time he re-⁽⁶⁶¹⁾
solved in his own mind, as soon as the consent
of the people should establish his authority, to
banish all suspicious chiefs to the Hapai islands.
About an hour afterwards, he learnt that *Voogi*
the preceding day had ordered sundry parties of
his men to post themselves behind the bushes,
on each side the road to Nioo Lalo, during the
time that Finow's body was being carried there,
with orders to rush out and kill all who accom-
panied the body, in case a fit opportunity pre-
sented itself: but no such opportunity having
offered, his men had assembled armed along
with him, at a house near the water side, with
his canoe close at hand, and had been there all
the preceding part of the night. The prince
ordered that no notice should be taken of his
hostile position, but that all his own men should
keep themselves well armed, and in perfect rea-
diness to meet the enemy in case of a revolt:
he also dispatched men to watch as narrowly as
possible other chiefs, whom he began to think
might be connected with *Voogi*. During the
remainder of the night, no disturbance took
place. In the morning, as soon as it was light, ⁷⁶⁴
the people began to assemble on the *maka*, out

● 764 of respect to the departed chief; and sat on the ground, waiting for the commencement of the ceremonies usual on such extraordinary occasions.

634 In the mean time, the prince, and his uncle,
668 Finow Fiji, prepared cava at a neighbouring
787 house, and presented it there to the priest of
799 Toobo Totai, out of respect to that god, who
[776] was now become the tutelar deity of the young
prince. By the mouth of his priest the god
desired him not to fear rebellion; for who should
dare to rebel against a chief who was the pecu-

[784] liar care of the powers of Bolotoo? He com-
[761] manded him moreover to reflect on the circum-
[763] stances of his father's death, as a salutary lesson
to himself: "Your father," said the divinity,
"is now no more;—but why did he die?—be-
"cause he was disrespectful to the gods!" The

634 conference here ended. A short time after,
661 the prince, whilst reflecting on the words of the
761 oracle, was addressed by a woman, who was sit-
784 ting behind him in waiting, and who was much
respected by the late king and his family, on
account of her having given him some informa-
tion respecting a real or supposed conspiracy,
on the part of the Vavaoo chiefs; (Booboono,
Cacahoo, and others, who were seized in conse-
quence at Macave, and afterwards put to death:
see p. 276.) This woman remarked to the prince

634 the new sovereignty to the island of Vavaoo,
651 and its neighbouring isles, without receiving
tribute (unless voluntarily paid, which was not
at all likely to be the case,) from the Hapai
islands, now in possession of Toobó Tóa, against
whom the prince had no intention of waging a
new war, and shedding more blood for the mere
purpose of obliging him to continue that tri-
bute as heretofore.

634 The conference being ended, the two chiefs
764 turned their attention to the removal of the
649 body of the late How to Félletóa to be buried,
as there were no fytócas at Neáfoo but such as
belonged to the family of Tooitonga; and it
would have been contrary to custom to have
buried an individual of the How's family in
a grave belonging to that of Tooitonga.

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

379

CHAPTER XIII.

Ceremony of Finow's burial—Grief of his widows—Self infictions of the mourners—Funeral procession to Felletoa—000
 The policy of the prince—Description of the grave, and ceremony of interment—Ceremonies after burial—Respect paid by persons in passing the grave—The prince's intimation to Voona that he should exile himself—The prince receives authority as *How* at a cava party—His noble speech on this occasion—Farther exhortations to his chiefs and matabooles respecting the cultivation of the country—Half mourning commences—The ceremony of the twentieth day after burial—The dance called *Méetoo Buggi*—Heroic behaviour of two boys at the grave—The late *How*'s fishermen exhibit proofs of their affection for the deceased—Moral and political character of the late *How*—His personal character—A brief comparison between the characters of the late and present *How*.

ALL the chiefs and matabooles were now assembled on the *malai* at Neafoo. Among the rest was Voona, to whom the prince went up, and intimated the necessity of removing the body of his father to Félletóá. It would have been thought very disrespectful if he had not mentioned this to Voona before he issued orders respecting it, because Voona was a very great chief, even greater than Finow himself, and such a reserve on such a public occasion, towards a superior, would have been an act offen-
634
764
634
565
[764]

634 sive to the gods. It may appear strange that
 565 Voona was a greater chief than the son of the
 king, yet it is a frequent occurrence, that the
 king is chosen from a family not of the highest
 rank, on account of his superior wisdom or mi-
 litary skill, and this was the case with the pre-
 sent royal family; so that the king is often
 obliged to pay a certain ceremonious respect
 (hereafter to be noticed) towards many other
 chiefs (even little children), who are greater
 nobles than he.

634 The company were now all seated, habited
 764 in mats, waiting for the body of the deceased
 763 king to be brought forth. The mourners (who
 are always women, consisting of the female re-
 [562] lations, widows, mistresses, and servants of the
 deceased, and such other females of some rank,
 who choose, out of respect, to officiate on the
 occasion), were assembled in the house, and
 seated round the corpse, which still lay out on
 [297] the bales of *gnatoo*. They were all habited in
 large, old, ragged mats, the more ragged, the
 more fit for the occasion, as being more em-
 blematical of a spirit broken down, or, as it were,
 [304] torn to pieces by grief. Their appearance was
 calculated to excite pity and sorrow in the
 heart of any one, whether accustomed or not to
 such a scene: their eyes were swollen with the
 last night's frequent flood of grief, and still

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

381

weeping genuine tears of regret; the upper
 part of their cheeks perfectly black, and swollen
 so that they could hardly see, with the con-
 stant blows they had inflicted on themselves
 with their fists; and their breasts, also, were
 equally bruised with their own misplaced and
 untimely rage.

Among the chiefs and matabooles who were
 seated on the *maldai*, all those who were particu-
 larly attached to the late king, or to his cause,
 evinced their sorrow by a conduct, usual, in-
 deed, among these people at the death of a re-
 lation, or of a great chief (unless it be that of
 Tooitonga, or any of his family), but which, to
 us, may well appear barbarous in the extreme;
 that is to say, the custom of cutting and
 wounding themselves with clubs, stones, knives,
 or sharp shells: one at a time, or two or three
 together, would run into the middle of the
 circle, formed by the spectators, to give these
 proofs of their extreme sorrow for the death, and
 great respect for the memory of their departed
 friend.

The sentiments expressed by these victims
 of popular superstition were to the following
 purpose: "Finow! I know well your mind;
 "you have departed to Bolótoo*, and left your

* Paradise.

634 "people under suspicion that I, or some of
 764 "those about you, were unfaithful; but where
 763 "is the proof of infidelity? where is a single
 304 "instance of disrespect?" Then, inflicting
 565 violent blows, and deep cuts in the head with
 a club, stone, or knife, would again exclaim, at
 intervals, "Is this not a proof of my fidelity?
 "does this not evince loyalty and attachment
 "to the memory of the departed warrior?"
 Then, perhaps, two or three would run up, and
 endeavour to seize the same club, saying, with
 a furious tone of voice, "Behold! the land is
 "torn with strife! it is smitten to pieces! it is
 "split by revolts! how my blood boils! let us
 "haste and die! I no longer wish to live! your
 "death, Finow, shall be mine! but why did I
 "wish hitherto to live, it was for you alone!
 "it was in your service and defence, only, that
 "I wished to breathe! but now, alas, the
 "country is ruined! Peace and happiness are
 "at an end! your death has insured ours!
 "henceforth war and destruction alone can
 "prosper." These speeches were accompa-
 nied with a wild and frantic agitation of the
 body, whilst the parties cut and bruised their
 heads every two or three words, with the knife
 or club they held in their hands.

Others somewhat more calm and moderate
 in their grief, would parade up and down with

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

383

rather a wild and agitated step, spinning and
 whirling the club about, striking themselves
 with the edge of it two or three times violently
 upon the top or back of the head*, and then,
 suddenly stopping, and looking stedfastly at
 the instrument, spattered with blood, exclaim,
 " Alas! my club, who could have said that you
 " would have done this kind office for me, and
 " have enabled me thus to evince a testimony of
 " my respect for Finow! Never, no, never, can
 " you again tear open the brains of his ene-
 " mies! Alas! what a great and mighty warrior
 " has fallen! Oh! Finow, cease to suspect my
 " loyalty; be convinced of my fidelity! But
 " what absurdity am I talking! if I had ap-
 " peared treacherous in your sight, I should
 " have met the fate of those numerous warriors
 " who have fallen victims to your just revenge:
 " but do not think, Finow, that I reproach
 " you; no! I wish only to convince you of my
 " innocence, for who, that has thoughts of
 " harming his chiefs, shall grow white-headed
 " like me? (an expression made use of by
 " some of the old men). O cruel gods! to de-
 " prive us of our father, of our only hope, for
 " whom alone we wished to live! We have, in-
 " deed, other chiefs, but they are only chiefs

* They understand tolerably well how to avoid the situa-
 tion of the larger arteries.

634 "in rank, and not like you, alas! great and

764 "mighty in war!"

763 Such were their sentiments and conduct on
304 this mournful occasion. Some, more violent
565 than others, cut their heads to the skull with
such strong and frequent blows, that they
caused themselves to reel, producing after-

634 wards a temporary loss of reason. It is diffi-

764 cult to say to what length this extravagance

763 would have been carried, particularly by one

721 old man, if the prince had not ordered Mr.

304 Mariner to go up and take away the club from

[609] him, as well as two others that were engaged

at the same time. It is customary on such oc-

casions, when a man takes a club from another,

to use it himself in the same way about his own

head; but Mr. Mariner, being a foreigner, was

not expected to do this; he therefore went up,

and, after some hesitation and struggle, secured

the clubs, one after another, and returned with

them to his seat, when, after a while, they

were taken by others who used them in like

manner.

634 After these savage expressions of sorrow had

764 been continued for nearly three hours, the

prince, having first signified his intentions to

Voona, for reasons before stated, gave orders

that the body of his father should be taken to

[411] Felletoa to be buried. In the first place, a bale

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

385

of *gnatoo* was put on a kind of hurdle, and the body laid on the bale: the prince then ordered that, as his father was the first who introduced guns in the wars of Tonga, the two carronades should be loaded and fired twice* before the procession set out, and twice after it had passed out of the *maláí*; he gave directions also that the body of Finow's daughter, lately deceased, should be taken out of the *fytoea*, in the model of a canoe, and carried after the corpse of her father; that during his life as he wished always to have her body in his neighbourhood, she might now at length be buried with him. Matters being thus arranged, Mr. Mariner loaded the guns, and fired four times with blank cartridge. The procession then went forward; the wives of the deceased and women attendants proceeded first in silent sorrow, next followed the body of Finow, the body of his daughter, the matabooles, and lastly the young prince and his retinue. When the procession had got out of the fortress, (the *maláí*, of which we are speaking, being in the middle of the fortress of Neafoo) and had passed the place where the

* It should be mentioned that the young prince had now in his possession only two carronades, the other two being at the Hapai islands with Toobo Toa. But then Toobo Toa had only half a barrel of gunpowder, and no iron shot, whereas the prince had seven or eight barrels, and a considerable number of balls.

634 guns were drawn up, Mr. Mariner fired two
 764 more rounds, then loaded them with canister
 411 shot, lighted a match, to be in readiness in
 727 case of need, and ordered the guns to follow
 the procession, whilst he went last to see that
 634 they were properly drawn. It was not the
 764 prince's intention to order another salute, but
 411 he had previously told Mr. Mariner to load
 661 them again, not with blank cartridge but with
 shot, and to carry a lighted match in his hand,
 for, "perhaps," said he, "we may have need
 of it." This, it may be easily seen, was a
 measure of policy; he ordered them to be fired
 that he might have a plea for carrying them in
 the procession along with him, and he ordered
 them to be loaded a third time, as if they were
 to be in readiness for another salute at the
 grave, but in fact for his own safeguard, lest
 certain chiefs should take the opportunity to
 revolt.

634 In the course of two hours they arrived at
 764 Felletoa, where the body was laid in a house
 349 on the *malái* at some distance from the grave,
 till another and smaller house could be brought
 close to it*; and this was done in the course

* The body is always placed in a house in front of the
fytoea during the time the grave is digging: if there be no
 house near, a small one is immediately brought for the pur-
 pose, which, from the construction of their houses, is readily
 done by the aid of 50 or 60 men.

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

387

of an hour, the corner posts being taken up, ⁶³⁴ the four pieces which compose the building (a ⁷⁶⁴ kind of shed in a pyramidal form, the eaves ³⁴⁹ reaching within four feet of the ground) were brought by a sufficient number of men, and put together at the place where it was wanted. This being done, the body was brought on the ⁴⁹³ same hurdle or hand-barrow to the newly erected building, (if it may be so termed) and then being taken off the hurdle it was laid within, on the bale of *gnatoo*, and the house was hung round with black *gnatoo*, reaching from the eaves to the ground *. The women, who ⁷⁶⁷ were now all assembled and seated round the body, began a most dismal lamentation, similar to that at Neáfoo; in the mean time a number of people, whose business it was to prepare graves, were digging the place of interment within the *fytoea*, under the direction of *Lanagi*, a mataboole whose office was to superintend such affairs. Having dug about ten feet, they came to the large stone vault, such as was described in the note p. 144; a rope being then

* This black *gnatoo*, or rather *gnatoo* of a dark colour, ²⁸⁷ having a deep brown ground with black stripes, is not chosen on account of its colour, but because it is coarse and common (emblematical of poverty and sadness). They have a kind of *gnatoo* of very superior quality, but of the same colour and pattern, and this is used on occasions of rejoicing.

634 fastened double round one end of the stone,
764 which always remains a little raised for this
purpose by means of certain bodies placed underneath; it was elevated by the main strength of 150 or 200 men, pulling at the two ends of the rope, towards the opposite edge of the grave, till it was brought up on end. The body, being oiled with sandal-wood oil and then wrapped in *Hamo*a mats, was handed down on a large bale of *gnatoo* into the grave; the bale of *gnatoo* was then, as is customary, taken by the before-mentioned mataboole as his perquisite. Next, the body of his daughter, in the model of a canoe, was let down in like manner and placed by his side*. The great stone was then lowered down with a loud shout. Immediately certain matabooles and warriors ran like men frantic round and about the *fyloca*, exclaiming, "Alas! how great is
" our loss! Finow! you are departed; witness

* This grave, which was considered a large one, is capacious enough to hold thirty bodies. Two bodies which Mr. Mariner saw there, and which were in a very dry but perfect state, had been buried, as he was told by old men, when they were boys, and consequently must have been there upwards of forty years; while several others, of which nothing remained but the bones, had not been buried so long: this circumstance the natives suppose to be owing to different kinds of constitution, though, in all probability, to the kind or duration of disease of which they died.

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

389

"this proof of our love and loyalty!" At the same time they cut and bruised their own heads with clubs, knives, axes, &c.

The whole company now formed themselves into a single line, the women first and afterwards the men, but without any particular order as to rank, and proceeded towards Lico

(or the back of the island, as they term it, because there is no opening for large canoes), for the purpose (as customary) of getting a quantity of sand in small baskets, for the use directly to be described. The guns were not

however taken in the procession, as the young prince considered the measure now unnecessary, every thing appearing perfectly quiet, for if any party had intended to revolt, they would have done it on their way from Neafoo to the grave, whilst they had clubs and spears in their possession, and not during the ceremony of burial, before which every man, according to custom, deposits his arms in the neighbouring houses. It is true they might afterwards have taken up their arms again and planned mischief, but the prince, who had always his spies about, neither perceiving nor hearing of any symptoms of disturbance, did not wish to seem fearful of revolt, which would have been the case had he taken the guns with him to the back of the island, and which he could not

634 have done with any plausible pretence, such as
 764 he had for bringing them to Felletoa.

[668] In their road to the back of the island they
 [661] sang loudly the whole way, as a signal to all
 [634] who might be in the road or adjacent fields to
 764 hide themselves as quickly as possible, for it is
 688 sacrilegious for any body to be seen abroad by
 [533] the procession during this part of the cere-
 mony; and if any man had unfortunately made
 his appearance, he would undoubtedly have
 been pursued by one of the party, and soon
 dispatched with the club. So strictly is this
 attended to, that nobody in Mr. Mariner's
 time recollected a breach of a law so well
 known. Even if a common man were to be
 buried, and Finow himself were to be upon the
 road, or in the neighbourhood of the proces-
 sion, whilst going to get sand at the back of
 the island, he would immediately hide himself;
 not that they would knock out the king's brains
 on such an occasion, but it would be thought
 sacrilegious and unlucky, the gods of Bolotoo
 being supposed to be present at the time.

[565] The chiefs are particularly careful not to in-
 fringe upon sacred laws, lest they should set an
 634 example of disobedience to the people. The
 764 song on this occasion, which is very short, is
 533 sung first by the men, and then by the women,
 and so on alternately, and intimates (though

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

391

Mr. Mariner has forgotten the exact words) ⁶³⁴
 that the *fala* (which is the name of this part of ⁷⁶⁴
 the ceremony) is coming, and that every body ^[533]
 must get out of the way.

When they arrived at the back of the island, ^[285]
 where any body may be present to see them, ^[482]
 and, on this occasion, it was at the part called
Mofoocé, every one proceeded to make a small
 basket of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, hold-
 ing about two quarts, and to fill it with sand:
 this being done, each of the men carried two
 upon a stick across the shoulder, one at each
 end—while the women only carried one,
 pressed, in general, against the left hip, or
 rather upon it, by the hand of the same side,
 and supported by the hand of the opposite side,
 brought backwards across the loins, which they
 consider the easiest mode for women to carry
 small burdens*; they then proceeded back the
 same way, and with the same ceremony, to
 the grave. By this time the grave above the
 vault was nearly filled with the earth lately dug
 out, the remaining small space being left to be
 filled up by the sand, which is always more
 than enough for this purpose, that the mount,

* This mode, which the women use, is called *fafa*; that
 which the men use, as just described, *dno*; carrying in the
 hand by the side, *taggi-taggi*;—whilst the general term for
 any mode of carrying is *fooa*.

634 of which the *fytoca* consists, may be strewed in
 764 like manner, it being considered a great embel-
 lishment to a grave to have it thus covered,
 and is thought to appear very well from a dis-
 tance, where the clean sand may be seen on the
 outside of the *fytoca*; besides which, it is the
 custom, and nobody can explain the reason
 why,—which is the case with several of their
 customs. This being done, the temporary
 house is taken to pieces, and thrown behind
 the *fytoca* in the hole, out of which the earth
 was originally dug to raise the mount on which
 the *fytoca* stands *: in this hole also are thrown
 all the baskets in which the sand was brought,
 as well as the remaining quantity of earth not
 used in filling up the grave. The ground
 within the *fytoca* is now covered with mats,
 similar to what are commonly used in the
 houses, and which are made of the leaves of
 634 the cocoa-nut tree. During the whole of this
 765 time the company was seated on the green be-
 287 fore the *fytoca*, still clothed in mats, and their
 301 necks strung with the leaves of the *isi* tree: after
 302 this they arose and went to their respective ha-
 304 bitations, where they shaved their heads, and
 824 burnt their cheeks with a small lighted roll of

* Or rather the house upon the *fytoca*, for the latter is a
 term given merely to the mount and the grave within it;
 they have several *fytoas* which have no houses on them.

643 due to the divine character of this chief: and as this was done immediately after Tooitonga's death, his son did not succeed to this high title; so that if affairs still remain in the same state at Vavaoo, there is at present no Tooitonga, and probably never again will be; but if there should happen some violent political change, it is possible the son of the late divine chief may be raised to that honour: we therefore speak of Tooitonga as if actually existing.

[55] The family name of Tooitonga is Fatafehi, and
 [565] the present head of the family, the only son (of legitimate rank,) is now a youth of about sixteen or seventeen years of age; his name is Fatafehi Low fili Tonga: he is still considered a chief of high rank, and has respect paid to him accordingly.

[565] Tooitonga and Veachi are both acknowledged
 [719] descendants of chief gods who formerly visited
 [716] the islands of Tonga, but whether their original mothers were goddesses or merely natives of Tonga, is a question which they do not pretend

643 to decide. Of these two personages, Tooitonga,
 823 as may be guessed from his title, is far higher in
 565 rank;—the word imports chief of Tonga, which
 764 island has always been considered the most noble of all the Tonga islands, and from time immemorial the greatest chiefs have been accustomed to make it their principal place of re-

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

77.

sidence, and after their decease to be buried there
 in the tombs of their ancestors. This island,
 moreover, gives name, by way of pre-eminence,
 to all the islands taken collectively, as a capital
 town sometimes gives name to a country; and
 withal it has acquired the epithet of sacred,
táboo, and is thus sometimes called *Tonga táboo*,
 denoting its excellence; from this circumstance
 it is erroneously noted down in our charts *Ton-*
gataboo; but *táboo* is only an epithet occasion-
 ally used. The respect which is shewn to *Tooi-*
tonga, and the high rank which he holds in so-
 ciety, is wholly of a religious nature, and is far
 superior, when occasion demands it, to that
 which is shewn even to the king himself; for
 this latter, as will by and by be seen, is by no
 means of the most noble descent, but yields in
 this respect to *Tooitonga*, *Veachi*, and several
 families related to them; and if the king were
 accidentally to meet any chief of nobler descent
 than himself, he would have to sit down on the
 ground till the other had passed him, which is
 a mark of respect that a common peasant would
 be obliged to shew to any chief or *Egi* what-
 soever; and for this reason the king never as-
 sociates with any chief superior to himself, and
 always endeavours to avoid meeting them, and
 they in like manner endeavour to avoid him,
 that he might not be put to the trouble of sitting

823

[643]

565

[64]

[103]

643

565

634

576

784

782 ing performed several times on the same finger,
755 in case a man has many superior relations.

602 Booroo, or funeral ceremonies. For a par-
764 tial description of these, reference may be made
to the burial of Toobó Nuha; (Vol. I. p. 141.)

for a particular one, as it regards the burial of
[122] a king, to that of Finow, (chap. 13^A). What re-
mains, therefore, principally to be described,
are the peculiarities attending the burial of
Tooitonga: in the first place, however, we shall
give the names of the different parts of the
ceremony of burials in general; the modes of
all which have been already related in the
instance last referred to: the names are these.

FALA, or procuring small stones, (white and
black), and sand, to cover the grave.

Tootoo, or burning the persons of the
mourners in spots, with lighted rolls of *tápa*.

LAFA: burning the arm in about six places,
each in form of five or six concentric circles.

Toogi: beating the cheeks, and rubbing off
the cuticle, with cocoa-nut husk, or some sort
of plait, wound round the hand.

Foa Ooloo: wounding the head, and cutting
the flesh in various parts, with knives, shells,
clubs, spears, &c. in honour of the deceased,
and as a testimony of respect for his memory
and fidelity to his family.

A [See 2: Mariner, cat. 116, pp. 379-444--
Analyst]

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE. 213

All these have been accurately described in the ceremony of burying the late king. There is one remark nevertheless to be made in respect to the four last, particularly *Foa Ooloo*; which appears, however inhuman, to be a very ancient and long established custom in the history of mankind. On turning to Leviticus, Chap. xix. verse 28, we find this command, "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you."

The above-mentioned five ceremonies are common at all burials, and are conducted with more or less pomp, according to the rank of the individual deceased: in saying all burials, however, we must make one exception, viz. that of *Tooitonga*, on which occasion the ceremony of *Foa Ooloo* is never performed; but the reason of this Mr. Mariner was never able to learn. At the funeral of the greatest chiefs, in general, this outrage is usually exercised with the utmost readiness and enthusiasm; but at that of *Tooitonga*, who is far higher than any other, it is altogether omitted: the natives have no law for this, but custom.

LANGI, or the ceremony of burying *Tooitonga*: this word is also applied to signify the grave of this chief during the whole of the funeral ceremonies: it literally means the sky; also, a band of singers; but there appears no

766 connection between these different meanings.
 192 When Tooitonga is ill, the intercessions with
 the gods for his recovery are the same, though
 766 perhaps in a greater degree, as are made on
 763 the illness of other high chiefs: prayers are of-
 fered up; priests become inspired; some child-
 ren have their little fingers sacrificed; others
 766 are strangled, &c. When he is dead, his body
 764 is washed with oil and water, as usual; his wi-
 [768] dows come to mourn over him, &c.; and, ac-
 cording to the former custom, his chief widow
 should be strangled, but whether on the day of
 his death or of his burial Mr. Mariner does not
 know. His *fyloca*, or burial-place, is of the
 [302] same form as that of other chiefs. The day
 after his death, (which is the day of his burial)
 every individual at every island, man, woman,
 and child, has his head closely shaved: this is
 a peculiarity, and so is the custom of deposit-
 ing some of his most valuable property along
 with the body in the grave, such as beads,
 whales' teeth, fine Hamoa mats, &c.; so that
 his family burying-place, at the island of
 Tonga, where all his ancestors have been bu-
 ried, must have become very rich; for no na-
 tive would dare to commit the sacrilege of
 theft. The ceremony of interment is exactly
 766 the same as that of the king. The mourning
 765 is also the same, viz. old ragged mats, with

322 or even a flattened nail, to which a handle is
 531 affixed. They only ornament those clubs which
 [412] are considered good on account of their form,
 [552] or the quality of the wood, or those which have
 done much execution: to the latter it used to
 be the custom to give a proper name. Those
 that make these ornaments are chiefly canoe-
 builders.

767 TOOFOONGA TA'BOO, superintendants of fu-
 565 neral rites: these, as the name indicates, have
 the regulation of every thing regarding burials
 of principal chiefs: they are generally mata-
 booles, and are always consulted respecting the
 preparations and forms of ceremony necessary
 on such occasions, and which are handed down
 by them from father to son.

324 TOOFOONGA TA MA'CCA, or makers of stone
 vaults for the burial of chiefs. The general
 764 form of these vaults has been already described,
 (Vol. I. p. 144.) The stones used for this pur-
 pose are about a foot in thickness, and are cut
 of the requisite dimensions, out of the stratum
 found on the beaches of some of the islands.

286 JIA COBE'NGA, net-making. This art is per-
 formed exactly in the same way as with us:
 the thread is made of the inner bark of a tree,
 which they call *olongá*: large nets, however,
 are made of plait, formed from the husk of the
 cocoa-nut.

226 TOOFOONGA TOTY'ICA, fishermen. All those

287 shore, and the finishing operation of *toogi hea*
 531 commences, or staining it in certain places with
 [386] the juice of the *hea*, which constitutes a brilliant red varnish; this is done in straight lines along those places where the edges of the printed portions join each other, and serves to conceal the little irregularities there; also in sundry other places, in the form of round spots about an inch and a quarter in diameter: after this the *gnatoo* is exposed one night to the dew, and the next day being dried in the sun, it is packed up in bales to be used when required. When *gnatoo* is not printed or stained, it is called *tapa*.

287 They make also an inferior kind of *gnatoo* of
 [764] the bark of young bread-fruit trees, which, however, is coarse, and seldom worn, but is chiefly used for various purposes at funerals.

[462] The whole of these operations are performed
 [565] by women: the embroidering of the *cobecheis*,
 [413] or stamps, is always done by women of rank.

[391] In respect to mat and basket-making, they have mats of various kinds, made of strips of
 285 leaves or bark selected, dried, and otherwise
 [462] prepared; all of which, except one or two of a coarser kind, are fabricated by women. The following are the names and qualities of them.

[291] *Gnafi gnafi*, mats to wear, of a finer quality, made of the leaves of the *fa* or *paoongo*, that

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

125

- Langalangafehi.** To originate the opening of oysters [langalanga, to originate, to set on foot; fehi, to open oysters]. Royal tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). 103
- Langamaikuaho.** To have been in labor and brought forth in the day [langa, to be in labor; mal, to bring; kuo, sign of the past tense; aho, day]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langamue.** Tract near Felekea, village on Uiha island (H).
- Langapenihā.** Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Langapeuta.** Turning up the soil alone inland [langa, to turn up the soil; pe, alone; uta, inland]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Langataku.** To originate a name [langa, to originate; taku, to designate]. Tract near Maitoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Langiatea.** Whittish tomb [langi, royal tomb; a, of; tea, whittish]. Tomb on Nomuka island (H). 103
- Langifaapita.** [Langi, royal tomb]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). 764
- Langifalepulemaalo.** [Langi, royal tomb; fale, house; pule, to rule; alo, child of rank]. Tomb of the Tui Haatakalaui. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langifaletonga.** Royal tomb of the house of fine mats [langi, royal tomb; fale, house; tonga, fine mats]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langifaletupapal.** Royal tomb of houses spread out in order like beads on a string [langi, royal tomb; fale, house; tui, to string as beads; papal, to spread out in order]. Tomb of the Tui Haatakalaui. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langifanakavakilang.** Royal tomb of seeking protection in heaven [langi, royal tomb; fanakava, to seek protection; ki, in; langi, the sky]. Another name is Langitnoefafā. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langifangaleto.** Royal tomb of the central landing place [langi, royal tomb; fanga, landing place; loto, center]. Tomb near Fetoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langifoki.** The turned-back sky [langi, sky; foki, to turn back]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T). 103
- Langifokomanu.** Royal tomb of swallowing the animal [langi, royal tomb; ko, prefix; manu, animal]. At Mataliku on the outskirts of the village of Pea, Tongatabu island (T). 103 764
- Langifoou.** New royal tomb [langi, royal tomb; foou, new]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langihekeke.** Royal tomb of moving on the posteriors and striking [langi, royal tomb; heke, to move on the posteriors; ta, to strike]. Tomb near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langikatoa.** The whole royal tomb [langi, royal tomb; katoa, whole]. Tomb near Lapaha (?) village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langikoolonamu.** Royal tomb of the place of ensnaring the mosquito [langi, royal tomb; ko, prefix before place names; elo, to ensnare; namu, mosquito]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langilau.** The counted skies [langi, sky; lau, to count]; perhaps in reference to then ten skies of Tongan mythology. Tract in Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). 103
- Langileka.** Short royal tomb [langi, royal tomb; leka, short]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). In this tomb is buried the female Tui Tonga Sinaitakalallangileka. 103 764

- 103
764 Langilili. Angry royal tomb [langi, royal tomb; ili, to be angry]. Tomb near Lapaha (?), village on Tongatabu island (T). Burial place of Alusa.
- Langiloamanu. Royal tomb of the red pigment smeared over the body of an animal [langi, royal tomb; loa, red pigment for smearing over the body; manu, animal]. Tomb near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T): tomb of the Tui Haatakalausa. Also tomb on Tungua island (H).
- Langimakamaka. Stony royal tomb [langi, royal tomb; makamaka, stony]. Tomb near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T). On the tracts Haavaka and Makamaka.
- Langimaluatonga. Royal tomb of cringeing to Tonga [langi, royal tomb; malua, to cringe; tonga, Tongatabu]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langimatamoana. Royal tomb to be seen from the ocean [langi, royal tomb; mata, to be seen; moana, ocean]. Also called Langitalangaholova. Tomb near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T). The tract on which it stands is Talangaholova, which the informant said took its name from the tomb. It is very near the tract Tufumahina.
- Langimau. Firm tomb [langi, royal tomb; mau, firm]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- 103 Langimosia. The sky and the sun [langi, sky; moe, and the; laa, sun]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- 103
764 Langimounga. Mountainous royal tomb [langi, royal tomb; mounga, mountainous]. Tomb on Tungua island (T).
- Langimoungalafa. Royal tomb of the flat-topped mountain [langi, royal tomb; mounga, mountain; lafalafa, flat]. Tomb near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langinamoala. Royal tomb of the suitable bay enclosed with a reef [langi, royal tomb; namo, bay enclosed with a reef; ala, suitable]. Tomb near Lapaha?, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langinukulau. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langilomalosa. Royal tomb of rubbing the winner of the fording [langi, royal tomb; olo, to rub; male, winner of a game; aa, to ford]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langilovehi. Also called Siavakapuna and Olovehifakasia. Tomb near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Tomb of Tuia.
- Langilotafalva. Tomb of Tafalva, wife of Tui Tonga Telea. Tomb on Eua-kafa island (V).
- Langipaepaeotelea. Terraced royal tomb of Telea [langi, royal tomb; paepae, to lay stones as dams or sills; o, of; telea, the twenty-ninth Tui Tonga]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langipangai. Tomb near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V).
- Langipulpul. Screened royal tomb [langi, royal tomb; pulpul, to screen]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langisiapua. Royal tomb of the mound of the pua tree [langi, royal tomb; sia, artificial mound; pua, a tree]. Tomb on Tungua island (H).
- Langitaetae. Inaccessible tomb [langi, royal tomb; taetae, inaccessible]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Langitamatou. Royal tomb of the child of tou wood [langi, royal tomb; tama, child; tou, a tree]. Tomb near Makaunga, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- 103
764 Langitau. Extending to the sky [langi, sky; tau, to extend to]. Island (V).
- Langitauatonga. Royal tomb of the war of Tongatabu [langi, royal tomb; tau, war; a, of; tonga, Tongatabu]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

127

- Langitauhakeleva. Royal tomb of reaching and ascending quickly [langi, royal tomb; tau, to reach; hake, to ascend; leva, quickly]. Tomb near Lapaha?, village on Tongatabu Island (T). 103 764
- Langitauhala. Royal tomb of the Tamatauhala, an individual higher in rank than the Tamaha [langi, royal tomb; tauhala, short for Tamatauhala]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Langitofaua. Royal tomb with the two sleepers [langi, royal tomb; tofa, to sleep; ua, two]. Tomb near Lapaha?, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Langitongamanatu. Royal tomb of anxious Tonga [langi, royal tomb; tonga, Tongatabu; manatu, anxious]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Burial place of the Tui Lakepa.
- Langitoo. Taking the sky [langi, sky; too, to take]; applied to the Tui Tonga when he has his hair cut. Tract on Lape Island (V). Also tract on Nua-papu Island (V). 103
- Langituitonga. Royal tomb of the king of Tonga [langi, royal tomb; tui, king; tonga; Tongatabu]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T). 103 764
- Langituofefafa. Royal tomb of jerking and carrying on the back [langi, royal tomb; tuo, to jerk; fefafa, to carry on the back]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Herein is buried the Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu I. On his back is buried, face downward, his brother Tokemoana; hence the name tuofefafa, to carry on the back. The last Tui Tonga, Laufilitonga, is also buried in this tomb. The tomb is also called Langifanakovakiliangi.
- Langituoteau. Royal tomb one hundred times [langi, royal tomb; tuo, times; teau, one hundred]. Tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Burial place of the Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu II.
- Langonga. The boat dock. Anchorage near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T). 103
- Lapaha. The appearance of assassination [lapa, to assassinate; ha, appearance]. The equivalent of Fijian lambasa. Village on Tongabu Island (T). A helida tree in Lapaha bears this name, which was bestowed upon it by certain chiefs. The village where the Tui Tonga resided. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu Island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract on Niuafou Island (NF).
- Lapata. To strike and assassinate [lapa, to assassinate; ta, to strike]. Tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Lape. Applied to wrestling when one throws his opponent by the aid of his legs; to bless, to render prosperous. Tract on Matuku Island (H)—Tui Haatelo, landlord. Also island (V).
- Lases. A kind of white clay. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka Island (H). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Lata. A shrub. Tract near Uifa, village on Uifa Island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract on Niuafou Island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- Latal. Pond of the place. Pool on Tongatabu Island (T). On weather shore.
- Latakofa. Bamboo shrub [lata, a shrub; kofa, bamboo]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Ahomee, landlord. Also tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Uifa, village on Uifa Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Late. Floating sail [la, sail; te, to float, to sit on the surface of the water]; perhaps descriptive of the appearance of Late Island, a volcanic cone visible to the west of Vavau. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu Island (T): near Nukualofa, Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord, Haveluliku, and Fusamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Ofolanga Island (H). Also tract on Okoa Island

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

133

- Lluangakauaihi.** A place where the whistling birds return [lu, to return; anga, habit, position, where anything takes place; kau, plural; aliki, a whistling sound]. Tract on Niuafu island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord. 103
- Loa.** Name of a plant, the fruit of which was used as a cosmetic to tint the face a red color before going to war. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Loafa.** To besmear the body with pandanus juice(?) [loa, to besmear the body; fa, pandanus]. Tract near Felema, village on Uiha island (H).
- Loamanu.** Tomb near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Malapo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Luan, landlord. Also four royal tombs of the Tui Haatakalaua near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). The names of three were ascertained: Langifalepulemaalo, Langifale-tulpapai, Langiloamanu. [764]
- Loanoa.** To besmear the body at random [loa, to besmear the body; noa, random]. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Lofanitani.** This frigate bird stained [lofa, frigate bird (*Fregata aquila*); ni, this; tani, to be stained]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Lofanga.** Many landing places [lo, many; fanga, landing place]. Island (H). Also tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafu island (NF).
- Lofia.** A volcano. Volcano on Tofua island (H).
- Lohifo.** Many offered in sacrifice [lo, many; hifo, to offer in sacrifice]. Tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veikune, landlord. Also tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Loholohoa.** To beat with the thick stem of the branch on which coconuts grow. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Lolamoeake.** Surfeited in eating and convalescent [lola, surfeited; moe, and; ake, convalescent]. Tract near Valmalo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Loka.** A rough or tempestuous sea. Tract near Niuatoua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Lokavallahl.** Rough large water [loka, rough; val, water; lahi, large]. Crater lake on Tofua island (H).
- Lokea.** Under the shade of the breadfruit tree [lo, short of lolo in the shade; kea, a species of breadfruit]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H)—Fakakakai, landlord.
- Lokial.** A room made of al wood [loki, room; al, name of a tree which bears small nuts]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Lokifue.** A room of fue vine [loki, room; fue, a climbing plant]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Lokilau.** A room full of leaves [loki, room; lau, leaves]. Tract on Ovaka island (V).
- Loko.** Very, in a great degree. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). This tract consists of an islet.
- Lokofa.** To feel after anything as one blind, very carefully [loko, very, in great degree; fa, to feel after anything, as one blind feels his way]. Tract and cave near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T). A cave with running water, in which the mullet were supposed to have been imprisoned, on Nuku, an islet in the great lagoon of Tongatabu near Nukuhitulu. This stream is said to connect with another called Lokupo. Compare myth concerning imprisoned mullet. [773]

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

147

- Mahuufiei.** Abundance of ufiei yams [mahu, abundance; ufiei, a small kind of yam]. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord. Also tract near Houma, village on Vavau island (V). 103
- Mal.** To bring. Reef near Nomuka island (H).
- Maifi.** A humming noise. Tract near Nakolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Luani, landlord.
- Maiki.** A crack, a tear. Tract near Petani, village on Niuafuou island (NF).
- Maile.** Myrtle shrub. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Haavakatolo—Ahomee, landlord, Foui, Haalalo, Folahe, Vaini—Maafu, landlord, and Kanokupolu. Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakal, village on Haano island (H). Also tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Mallefihi.** Bushy [maile, myrtle; fihi, bushy]. Tract in Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Ma'ima.** To bring bread [mal, to bring; ma, bread]. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Maifo'ua.** To bring whole baked yams [mal, to bring; to'ua, to bake yams whole]. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Maiva.** To bring something a distance [mal, to bring; va, the space or distance between two given objects]. Tract near Afa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- Maka.** Rock, stone. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Ahomee, landlord. Also tract in Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).
- Makaahola.** Rock overtaken by the day [maka, rock; ahola, to be overtaken by the day]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.
- Makaakiu.** Rock of the plover [maka, rock; a, of; ki, plover (Charadrius fulvus)]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.
- Makaakuli.** Rock of the dog [maka, rock; a, of; kuli, dog]. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).
- Makaanga.** Stony place [maka, stone; anga, place]. Tract near Mua, village on Niuafuou island (NF).
- Makaapai.** The upheld stone [maka, stone; apai, to uphold]. Tract on Mango island (H).
- Makaapeito.** Oven stones [maka, stone; a, of; peito, kitchen]. Tract on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.
- Makafaitoka.** Cemetery stones [maka, stone; faitoka, cemetery]. Tract near Utulei, village on Pangaimotu island (V).
- Makafakianga.** Rock of the plucking place [maka, rock; faki, to pluck; anga, place]. Tract near Felema, village on Uihia island (H).
- Makafala.** House stones [maka, stone; fale, house]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract on Ovaka island (V).
- Makafisianga.** Stones of the flower place [maka, stone; fisi, flower; anga, place]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Makahaa.** Large rock [maka, rock; haa, large]. Island (T).
- Makahakalukuanganavu.** Place of lime mixing [maka, stone; haka, to boil anything; luku, old; nava, a preparation of lime for cleaning the head]. A stone in the royal tomb Langitaetae, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). [764]

- 103 Makahoko. A joining stone [maka, stone; hoko, to join]. Tract on Fetoa island (H).
- [173] Makahokevalu. Eight joined stones [maka, stone; hoko, to join; valu, eight].
[764] Tomb or mound on Uiha island (H). On tract Likutapu; reputed to have been built by twenty-ninth Tui Tonga, Telea.
- Makahopa. Banana rock [maka, rock; hopa, banana]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- [764] Makahunu. Stones for the oven. Stone in the royal tomb Langifoou, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Niuafuou island (NF).
- Makai. The name of a tree. Tract near Ohonus, village on Eua island (T).
- Makakehe. Different rock [maka, rock; kehe, different]. Tract on Niuafuou island (NF).
- Makakiva. A small stone cave [maka, stone; kiva, a small cave]. Tract on Atata island (T)—Ata, landlord.
- [764] Makakopau. Stone named Pau [maka, stone; ko, prefix; pau, a personal name]. A large stone, apparently in the royal tomb Langitofaua, near Lapaha (?), village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Makalafalafa. A flat stone [maka, stone; lafalafa, flat]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fuliva, landlord.
- Makalolongo. The rock of sharks in a shoal [maka, rock; lolongo, sharks in a shoal]. Tract on Ovaka island (V).
- [764] Makaluani. Stone of Luani [maka, stone; luani, title of a chief]. A large stone apparently in the royal tomb Langitofaua, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Makamaka. Stony, rocky. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- [764] Makamataele. A fish stone [maka, stone; mataele, a fish]. More likely, stone of Mataele, a chief. Stone in Langitofaua near Lapaha (?), village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Makao. Deep rock [maka, rock; oo, deep]. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau (V).
- [775] Makaoa. Rocks that are near together. A great rock said to stand between the islands of Eua and Kalau (T) and to mark the road to Pulotu, the land of the departed.
- Makaotea. Stone of whitish color [maka, stone; o, of; tea, whitish, light in color]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Makapapa. A flat bed of stones [maka, stone; papa, a flat bed of stones]. Tract near Puke, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fohe, landlord. Also place on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore. Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Makapasi. Stone of hand clapping [maka, stone; pasi, to clap hands]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- [764] Makapau. Stone of Pau [maka, stone; pau, a person's name, probably Pau, the thirty-sixth Tui Tonga]. A stone in the royal tomb Langituoteau, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Makapulepule. Spotted rock [maka, rock; pulepule, spotted]. Rock (H). In Ahanga passage between Lifuka and Foa islands.
- Makasiale. Gardenia rock [maka, rock; siale, gardenia]. Tract on Taunga island (V)—Akauola, landlord.
- Makasialetafa. Rock of the sialetafa shrub [maka, rock; sialetafa, a shrub with white flowers]. Rock on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T).

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

149

- Makasiliva.** A silver stone [maka, stone; siliva, silver]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. 103
- Makasio.** A shell fish. Tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Makatangi.** Crying rock [maka, rock; tangi, to cry]. Reef on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.
- Makatanoa.** The rock of forwarning [maka, rock; tanoa, to forewarn]. Stone on Vavau island (V). On side of road near mound Tofaki, on or near Mt. Kafou.
- Makatapunimatapa.** Sealed with a stone door [maka, stone; tapuni, to close, to seal; matapa, door]. Cemetery on Late island (V).
- Makatata.** Covered stone [maka, stone; tata, to cover]. Tract near Fangale-ounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.
- Makatautau.** Hanging stone [maka, stone; tautau, to hang]. Beach on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.
- Makatefua.** Assembled stones [maka, stone; tefua, to assemble]. Stones on the weather shore of Tongatabu island (T). Mythology states that these stones were thrown by Maui at the great bird Moa as it flew from Eua island. [773]
- Makateka.** A rolling stone [maka, stone; teka, to roll]. Tract on Niutopotupu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.
- Makatemata.** Shame of death at hands of a friend among the enemy. Puko tree near Faletoa, village on Vavau island (V).
- Makatoa.** Courageous stone [maka, stone; toa, courageous]. Tract near Abau, village on Niuafu island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.
- Makatuiloahu.** Stone of Tuiloahu [maka, stone; tuiloahu, a chief]. A stone in the royal tomb Langimau, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). [764]
- Makatukia.** Soft stone [maka, stone; tukia, soft]. Tract near Hamula, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Makatukinga.** A stone where anything is beaten [maka, stone; tuki, to strike, to drub; nga, place]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.
- Makatuu.** Steady, immovable, firm. Tract near Matabau, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Makatuutolu.** Three stones standing together [maka, stone; tuu, to stand; tolu, three]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- Makau.** Lazy, indolent. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Makauii.** A dirty rock [maka, rock; ui, dirty]. Tract near Petani, village on Niuafu island (NF).
- Makaunga.** The sheltering rock [maka, rock; unga, to be sheltered]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Talafoou, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord. Also tract on Niuafu island (NF).
- Makavasetangitau.** Stone of Vaea Tangitau [maka, stone; vaea, a chief; tangi, to cry for; tau, war or fighting]. Stone near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). A huge stone, evidently part of a royal tomb, perhaps of Langitamatou, which it follows in an informant's list of royal tombs. [764]
- Makave.** To swing high; anyone who passes at a great distance. Tract on Haafeta island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H). Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Aftu, landlord. Also village (V).
- Makaveia.** Probably misspelling of Makavelo, the throwing stone [maka, stone; vele, to throw]. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafu island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

103

[764]

Makavuna. Vuna's stone [maka, stone; vuna, a chief]. Stone near Lapaha?, village on Tongatabu island (T). In the royal tomb Langitofaia.

Makafa. Tract near Valmalo, village on Vavau island (V).

Makiapa. The spelling Makiapo was also recorded. Tract near Taao, village on Vavau island (V).

Makonakatakata. Perhaps Makonakatakata; satisfied with food and smiling [makona, satisfied with food; katakata, to smile]. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Makonaufi. Satisfied with yam as food [makona, satisfied with food; ufi, yam]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Maia. Foolishness. Island (V).

Malae. A green. Tract near Haakili, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord.

Malaealoe. Green of darkness [malae, green; a, of; loe, darkness]. Graveyard near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Malaeamoho. The green of the moho rail [malae, a green; a, of; moho, a rail (Ortygometra tabuensis)]. Swamp on Foa island (H).

[764]

Malaeakilikili. Cemetery of small black stones [Malae, graveyard or cemetery; kilikili, small stones used for decoration on individual graves]. Tract on Haano island (H).

Malaeakimoana. Green towards the ocean [malae, green; ki, towards; moana, ocean]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Malaeakula. The red green [malae, a green; kula, red]. Green near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). The green was formerly called Malae. In 1886 a celebration was held there called katoangakula (red festival). From that the green received its present name. Kings George I and II are buried in this malae. It is also called Pangalofoou.

[764]

Malaeanga. Where people assemble. Tract near Afa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Malaeatoli. A green where flowers are plucked [malae, a green; toli, the gathering of flowers for garlands]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).

Malafakalava. A shark lying longways [mala, a kind of shark; fakalava, to lie longways]. Islet (V). Near Mala island.

Malahiva. Nine misfortunes [mala, misfortune; hiva, nine]. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Malala. Abandoned. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Malakilikili. To tread on small black volcanic stones [mala, to tread upon; kilikili, small volcanic stones, usually used for decoration of graves]. Tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Malalahi. Great misfortune [mala, misfortune; lahi, great]. Tract near Ngau-noho, village on Utungake island (V).

Malama. Shining. Water hole near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). It is in Fonuamotu section of Lapaha and formerly served as bath of the Tui Haatakalaua. Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Atata island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Malamakauaki. [Malama, to shine; kauaki, to make up a party]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuaotupapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Malamatalanga. Brightness conversed over [malama, brightness; talanga, to converse over]. Tract near Pangai, village on Eua island (T).

Malangafao. Applied to a feast when people get up to fill their baskets with food. Tract near Lotofa, village on Foa island (H).

Malapo. Night foolishness [mala, foolishness; po, night]. Village on Tongatabu island (T).

103

- Palengalngo.** A place of warding off displeasure [pale, to ward off; nga, place; ingo, displeasure]. Tract on Ovaka island (V).
- Palepa.** A large pool of stagnant water. Tract near Afa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Palesi.** Paris. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Palote.** Ballot. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Paioto.** To strike the center [pa, to strike; to, center]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Paluki.** Beach on Lifuka island (H).
- Pamaka.** High rocks. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fullvai, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Panama.** Panama. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Pangai.** A gathering place, or meeting place. Village and fortress on Eua island (T). The former name of Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also part of the same village of Kolovai. Also green near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T). Taufagahau was made Tui Kanokupolu on this green, where stood the koka tree under which the Tui Kanokupolu was invested with office. Also tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): in Nukualofa, near Maufanga, Folahe, Vaini—Maafu, landlord, Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord; also enclosure near Tatakamotonga, in which stood Langakali, the house of the Tui Kanokupolu, where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was assassinated in 1799; Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, Kolonga—Nuku, landlord, Fatumu, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also district and tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Uihā, village on Uihā island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also district and tract near Hihifo; district, tract and cemetery near Pangai; also tract near Koulo, villages on Lifuka island (H). Also village on Lifuka island (H), the capital of Haapai. Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). Also district near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Laimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Pangaifoou.** New Pangai [foou, new]. Cemetery near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). The modern royal cemetery; before utilization as a cemetery the site was called Malaekula.
- Pangaihihifo.** Western Pangai [hihifo, west]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). The leased tract of the late chief Tuita.
- Pangailalo.** Lower Pangai [lalo, below, beneath]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Pangailiku.** Pangai on the weather shore [liku, weather shore]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Pangaimotu.** Pangai island [motu, island]. Island (T). Also island (V).
- Paonga.** A place where the game of lofa was played. Tract near Haveluliku, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Paongo.** Name of a tree. Tract on Ovaka island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Tracts near villages on Niuafoou island (NF): near Mua and Tongamamao and tract with Fotofili as landlord.
- Papa.** The name of a fish. Tract near Falehan, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT).
- Papaiangi.** Foreigner. Tract near Hofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haa-

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

201

- Siatengaimapa.** Mound of the seed of the mapa [sia, mound; tengai, seed; mapa, a plant]. Pigeon mound on Nomuka Island (H). 103
- Siatoloke.** Pigeon mound on Uoleva Island (H).
- Siavakapuna.** Mound of the leaping vessel [sia, mound; vaka, vessel; puna, to leap]. Tomb of the chief Tuita and his family, near Hihifo, village on Lifuka Island (H). It is also called Langiolovehi and Olovehifakasia. (764)
- Siesia.** Small mound. Village, mound, and tract on Nukunukumotu Island (T). In this mound is buried the umbilical cord of Mafitoutai, a woman of rank.
- Sife.** The mother-of-pearl shell. Tract on Lofanga Island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract on Nuafoou Island (NF).
- Sifisifi.** Name of a fish, the John Dory. Tract near Lavengatonga, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Sikaeha.** Small but visible [sili, small; kae, but; ha, visible]. Tract near Fuamotu, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract in Alaki, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau Island (V). Also tract near Mataval, village on Niutopotupu Island (NT). Also tract on Nuafoou Island (NF).
- Sikaepa.** Small but reported [sili, small; kae, but; pa, to be reported]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Silmua.** Tract on Fonofua Island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Sikaaveka.** The flying of the rail [sika, to fly; a, of; veka, the rail (*Rallus pectoralis*)]. Tract on Haafeva Island (H).
- Sikeanga.** A place where people sit on their heels [sikesike, to sit on the heels; anga, place]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau Island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord.
- Sikite.** Tract on Ofu Island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- Sikiviu.** Name of a bird, Lalage terat. Tract near Havelu, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Fielakepa, landlord. Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Sikoa.** Full of excrescences. Tract on Fetoa Island (H).
- Sikoangaveka.** Place of excrescence of the rail [siko, excrescence; anga, place; veka, rail (*Rallus pectoralis*)].
- Sikula.** The red si plant [si, a shrub; kula, red]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka Island (H). Also tract near Fotua, village on Foa Island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Sila.** Sailyard. Tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau Island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord.
- Silaa.** Turned towards the sun [si, to turn towards; laa, sun]. Tract near Talafoou, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Lauaki, landlord. Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa Island (H). Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Silekatahi.** Sileka plant near the sea [tahi, sea]. Tract on Matuku Island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Silekauta.** Inland sileka plant [uta, inland]. Tract on Matuku Island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Silika.** Silk. Tract on Matuku Island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Silikitaku.** To fish with a hand net and call the fish [sili, to fish with a hand net; ki, unto; taku, to call by, to designate]. Tract near Fotua, village on Foa Island (H).
- Siliva.** To fish with a hand net and laugh and make a noise [sili, to fish with a hand net; va, to laugh and make a noise]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Vakataumai, vil-

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

207

- Takalongo. To go about quietly [taka, to go about; longo, quiet]. Tract near Hamula, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. 103
- Takamoehiya. To walk about singing [taka, to go about; moe, and; hiya, to sing]. Tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord.
- Takamokuihaa. To live with another "clan" and ignore one's own [taka, to live; mo, and; kui, blind; ha, "clan"]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Takamuafoou. A stranger having forward ways [takamua, forward ways, being familiar; foou, new]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Takangafoha. A paddle attendant of a chief [takanga, attendant of a chief; foha, a paddle]. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).
- Takangamaukava. The chief's attendant who obtains kava [takanga, attendant of a chief; mau, to obtain; kava, the plant, (Piper methysticum)] Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Utulei, village on Pangaimotu island (V).
- Takape. To be short or destitute of clothing. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Takapeleva. To be destitute of clothing at once [takape, to be destitute of clothing; leva, at once]. Tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord.
- Takapu. To marry into and become master of the family. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Takatakapaau. To walk about mischievously [takataka, to walk about; pauu, mischievous]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).
- Takatuapaka. To evade and absent oneself from chiefs [takatus, to absent oneself from chiefs; paka, to evade]. Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V).
- Takatupu. To witness growth [taka, to witness; tupu, growth]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Takaunova. Fijian Thakaunove. Tract on Taunga island (V)—Akauola, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.
- Takenu. To throw dirt in every direction. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).
- Takitaki. To hang suspended. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract on Oloua island (V).
- Takitonu. To lead straight [taki, to lead; tenu, straight]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Takohali. To get into the family but to be of no importance. Tract on Fotuhaa island (H).
- Takolo. To strike a fortress [ta, to strike; kolo, a fortress]. Tract near Maataho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Takoto. To lie down (two or more). Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuaotuputu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Takua. To call by, to designate. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Takuilau. To designate in talking [taku, to designate; i, in; lau, to talk]. A sand mound of cemetery (faltoka) type in which were buried excised portions of Tui Tonga's anatomy; in Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also site of house of female Tui Tonga, in Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Now occupied by a convent. (764)
- Takupolu. Tract near Ahau, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

227

- Tongamamao. Distant Tonga [mamao, distant]. Tract on Tungua island (H) ¹⁰³
—Tui Haateiho, landlord. In mythology, a land created by the primordial
deities Piki and Kele, for their offspring. Also tract near Felemea, village on ^[773]
Uiha island (H). Also village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Tongamanatu. Anxious Tonga [manatu, anxious]. Tract near Nukualofa, village
on Tongatabu island (T). Also tomb near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island ^[764]
(T). Burial place of the Tui Lakepa. See Langitongamanatu.
- Tongamopulotu. Tonga and Pulotu. Sanctuary near Makave, village on Vavau
island (V).
- Tongamovavau. Tonga and Vavau. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu
island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Tongaol. Originating Tonga [ol, to originate, to set going]. Tract near Fahefa,
village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord.
- Tongatabu. Sacred Tonga [tabu, sacred]. Also called simply Tonga. Island
Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Tongataeapa. Tonga without veneration [tae, without; apa, to venerate]. Tracts
in and near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Tongatafe. The flowing Tonga [tafe, to flow]. Tract near Makave, village on
(T). Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Tongatoto. Blood of Tonga [toto, blood]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tonga-
tabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Tongatual. Slow Tonga [tual, slow]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu
island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Tongl. To carve or engrave. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)
—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Tongla. To relieve for a time. Place in eastern Tongatabu (T).
- Tongiatalanga. To set about carving the bonito [tongl, to carve; atu, bonito;
langa, to set in motion]. House of the Tui Kanokupolu in the green (malae)
near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Tongofe. Tract near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near
Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Tongolei. A tree. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala,
landlord.
- Tongoleleka. Ebbing tide mangrove [tongo, mangrove; teleka, ebbing tide]. Vil-
lage near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). An earlier name for present
village of Hihifo, though probably originally referring to only a part of it.
- Tongolea. Long mangrove tree [tongo, mangrove tree; lea, long]. Tract near
Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Tongololoto. Mangrove tree in deep water [tongo, mangrove; loloto, deep].
Place on Tongatabu island (T). On great lagoon.
- Tongomotu. Broken mangrove tree [tongo, mangrove tree; motu, broken]. Place
on Tongatabu island (T).
- Tongotongo. A kind of si shrub. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu
island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Tookau. To take by the stalk [too, to take; kau, stalk]. Tract near Holopeka,
village on Lifuka island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Toomalu. [Toomal, to pass it here.] Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano
island (H).
- Toone. To fall in the sands [to, to fall; one, sands]. Tract near Fetoa, village
on Tongatabu island (T)—Luani, landlord.
- Tops. A sore mouth. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo,
landlord.
- Topulli. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H). Also tract near Uiha,
village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

- 103 Tuahelo. To push about. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Nomuka Island (H).
- Tuahunga. The back part of Hunga Island [tua, the back part; hunga, name of an island]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau Island (V). Also tract near Longomapu, village on Vavau Island (V).
- [764] Tuakatakilangi. Commoner enduring the royal tomb [tua, commoner; kataki, to endure; langi, royal tomb]; apparently in reference to the interment alive of commoners in royal tombs. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract on Tungua Island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Tuakilaumea. Fish gills breeding sickness [tuaki, breeding sickness; laumea, fish gills]. A narrow, vertical walled canyon, in places more than one hundred feet deep in south central part of Eua Island (T), not far from the villages Pangal and Kolomalle. A stream flows through the canyon. The ridge to the west of the canyon is called Uai.
- Tuakiutu. Sickness bred by the utu fish [tuaki, breeding sickness; utu, a fish]. Tract on Fofuhaa Island (H).
- Tuakivakasiu. A boat which is behind in a boat race [tua, outside; ki, to; vaka, boat; siu, a boat race]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Tuakolilelei. Suitable. Tract near Valmalo, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Tuakolo. Near village, beside town. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract in Navutoka, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract on Nomuka Island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa Island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa Island (H). Also tract in Toulas, village on Vavau Island (V). Also tract near Matafka, village on Vavau Island (V). Also tract on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Tualizuelki. A commoner pretending to be a chief [tua, commoner; lau, to talk; elki, chief]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract on Atata Island (T)—Ata, landlord.
- Tualauiki. A narrow margin outside [tua, outside; lauiki, a narrow margin]. Tract on Niuafoou Island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- Tualaukau. A vain commoner [tua, commoner; laukau, vain]. Tract near Fuamotu, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Tualauta. Uniform exterior [tua, exterior; lauta, uniform]. Tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Tualehola. Tract near Uliha, village on Uliha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Tualekiliifi. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake Island (V). Also tract near Feletoa, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Tuall. Name of a shellfish. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Tualliku. The weather shore exterior [tua, exterior; liku, weather shore]. Tract on Fotuhaa Island (H).
- Tualikutonga. The exterior weather shore of Tonga [tua, exterior; liku, weather shore; tonga, Tongatabu Island]. Part of the weather shore on Tongatabu Island (T). Tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau Island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.
- Tuamalo. A commoner who wins the game [tua, a commoner; malo, a winner in games]. Tract near Muihoa, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haanagana, landlord.
- Tuamana. A bewitched commoner [tua, commoner; mana, to bewitch]. Tract in Haalaufull, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Tuamaolu. Tract near Muihoa, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haanagana, landlord.

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

233

- Tufukumete. Bowl of brackish water [tufu, brackish water; kumete, bowl]. 103
Spring near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). On the beach near Nelafu-
tabi. Artificially deepened to form a rock basin.
- Tufulahi. The large brackish water [tufu, brackish water; lahi, large]. Tract on
Hunga island (V)—Fullval, landlord.
- Tufumahina. Moon reflected by brackish water [tufu, brackish water; mahina,
moon]. A place in Haames, village of Pea, central Tongatabu island (T) (764) ●
near which stands the royal tomb Langimatamoana.
- Tufumalina. Probably a misspelling of Tufumahina. Tract near Nukualofa, vil-
lage on Tongatabu island (T).
- Tufumata. The green brackish water [tufu, water; mata, green]. Tract on
Ovaka island (V). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—
Ulukalala, landlord. Also tract near Longomapu, village on Vavau island (V)
—Velkune, landlord.
- Tufunua. A deep pool in the rocks in which there is not too much or too little
[tufu, a deep pool; nua, not too much and not too little]. Place on Tongatabu
island (T). On weather shore.
- Tufuola. The spring of brackish water [tufu, brackish water; ola, alive]. Tract
in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Vaini, village
on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.
- Tufutakale. [Tufu, brackish water; takale, a term of reproach for the head].
Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Tufutakoka. Brackish water striking the koka tree [tufu, brackish water; ta,
to strike; koka, a tree]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island
(T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Tufutele. The flowing brackish water [tufu, brackish water; tele, to flow]. Tract
near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tract near Utulau, village on
Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—
Malupo, landlord. Also stream near Mangia, village on Vavau island (V).
- Tufutekela. The northern brackish water [tufu, brackish water; tokela, north].
Tract near Havelu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fielakepa, landlord.
- Tufuval. Water that is brackish [tufu, brackish water; val, water]. Village on
Eua island (T). The place is often spoken of as Tufu. Also tracts near vil-
lages on Tongatabu island (T): near Foui—Vahai, landlord, Fahafa—Vechala,
landlord, and Alaki—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Tui. King. Stone at the lagoon on Tongatabu island (T). Formerly called
Tuungasilili.
- Tui. To make nets. Tract on Nukunukumotu island (T).
- Tulahai. Whose garland or flowers? Tract near Kolomalle, village on Eua
island (T).
- Tulangata. The end of an attack of a disease [tula, the attack of a disease;
ngata, the end]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, land-
lord.
- Tuiffeke. To string octopus together [tui, to string, as beads; feke, the octo-
pus]. Tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu island (V).
- Tuihaatala. King of the white tern "clan" [tui, king; hau, clan; tale, the white
tern (Gygis alba)]. Named for the chief who as a living man sent his spirit
to Puloa, the land of the departed, while his body remained on earth. Spring [773]
on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.
- Tuikihau. Faith to the ruler [tui, faith; ki, to; hau, ruler]. Tract near Ohonua,
village on Eua island (T).
- Tuila. To sew sails [tui, to thread a needle, to pierce; la, sail]. Tract near
Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

103

Uvea. Wallis Island. Also spelt Uea. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu Island (T): near Veitongo, Holonga, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Nomuka Island (H). Also tracts near villages on Haano Island (H): near Fakakakai, Pukotala—Tui Haangana, landlord, and Haano—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Falevai, village on Kapa Island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord. Also tract on Okoa Island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract near Tafeuni, village on Vavau Island (V).

Uvealiku. Weather shore of Wallis Island [uvea, Wallis Island; liku, weather shore]. Tract near Veitongo, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

Vaamaile. Branch of the myrtle shrub [vaa, branch; malle, myrtle]. Tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau Island (V).

Vaataha. One branch [vaa, branch; taha, one]. Tract near Puke, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Fohe, landlord.

Vaatakape. Naked branch [vaa, branch; takape, to be short or destitute of clothing]. Tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau Island (V).

Vaavaatama. Branchy child [vaavaa, branchy; tama, boy, child]; apparently a child related to many chiefs. Tract near Tokomololo, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

[764] **Vaea.** A stone in the royal tomb Langituitonga, named for Vaea one of the Tui Haatakalaua, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau Island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Vahaafonusa. A space between two lands [vaha, space; fonua, lands]. Tract on Niuafoou Island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

Vahaakal. Space between piles of food [vaha, space; kal, food]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Maafu, landlord.

Vahaakeli. Space between ditches [vaha, space; keli, ditch]. Tract in Nelafo, village on Vavau Island (V).

Vahaakolo. Space between villages [vaha, space; kolo, village]. Tract and road near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu Island (T). The street which divides Nukualofa into Kolomotua (Old Town) and Kolofou (New Town); it bounds the west side of the royal palace precincts. Also tract in Val-malo, village on Vavau Island (V). Also tract on Niuafoou Island (NF). Also tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou Island (NF).

Vahaavao. Space in the bush [vaha, space; vao, the bush]. Tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau Island (V).

Vahaavau. Scraped space [vaha, space; vau, to scrape]. Hill on Vavau Island (V).

Vahahuhu. Wet space [vaha, space at sea; huhu, wet]. Tract on Ofolanga Island (H).

Vahehake. Eastern district [vahe, district; hake, eastern]. District on Tongatabu Island (T). The eastern third of the island.

Vahehifo. Western district [vahe, district; hifo, western]. District on Tongatabu Island (T). The western third of the island.

Vaheloto. Central district [vahe, district; loto, central]. District on Tongatabu Island (T). The central third of the island.

Vahl. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Vahine. Girl; said to be an ancient word now replaced by taahine. Inlet or waterhole near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau Island (V).

Vahungahu. Tract on Tungua Island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Val. Water. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu Island (T): near Masilamea, Fetoa—Luani, landlord, Malapo, Malapo—Luani, landlord, and Talafoou—Lauaki, landlord. Also tract on Fonoifua Island (H)—Tui Aftu, landlord. Also tract on Haavea Island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka Island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa Island (H).

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

251

- Vakatalata.** Vessel of the talata bird [vaka, vessel; talata, a bird]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Vakatauaia.** Vessel that luffs [vaka, vessel; tauaia, to luff]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Vakataumai.** Vessel arriving [vaka, vessel; taumai, to arrive]. Tract near Koloua, green near Maufanga, and tract near Malupo, villages on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofa, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract, of the god Tui Haafakafanua, near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H). Also village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V).
- Vakatauho.** Vessel arriving with food for voyagers [vaka, vessel; tau, to arrive; eho, food of voyagers]. Beach on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.
- Vakatofusi.** Running vessel [vaka, vessel; tofusi, to run]. A place in Hihifo district where people formerly lived, on Tongatabu island (T).
- Vakauta.** Shore boat [vaka, boat; uta, shore]. Tract on Ofolanga island (T).
- Vakautangu.** Vessel loaded with yams [vaka, vessel; uta, cargo; ngu, a kind of yam.] Place at anchorage of Pahu, Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Vakavakatofua.** To be collected at the side [vakavaka, the side; tofua, to be collected or assembled together]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Pea—Lavaka, landlord, Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, and Longoteme—Velkune, landlord. Also tract near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract on Ntuefoou island (NF).
- Vakelotu.** Uproarious prayer [vaka, an uproarious noise; lotu, prayer]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Vatitaki.** Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord.
- Vakuuho.** To scratch the root of the kava [vaku, to scratch; uho, the root of the kava]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Valehevu.** A dress which is stirred round and round [vale, a dress; hevu, to stir round and round]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).
- Vale.** Foolish. Place on weather shore opposite Eua, on Tongatabu island (T).
- Valeangaua.** An insane person clever with both hands [vale, an insane person; angaua, clever with both hands]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Valefanau.** A fool who gives birth [vale, fool; fanau, to give birth]. Tract near Koloua, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also cemetery belonging to the family of Makauli, the priest of the god Tui Haafakafanua, near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu island (V). Also tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Valefetuku.** A fool who repeatedly gives everything to a girl, yet knows that he has no chance of winning her [vale, fool; fetuku, to remove, to carry]. Tract in Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Valekinau.** A fool who perseveres in wicked way [vale, fool; kinau, to persevere in wicked ways]. Tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).
- Valemata.** Raw fool [vale, fool; mata, raw, green, unripe]. Tract (V) near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Valemeui.** Living fool [vale, fool; meui, to live]. Tract near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Valetoakakau.** Fool courageous at swimming [vale, fool; toa, courageous; kakau, to swim]. Southern part of body of water enclosed by Hunga, Fefoa, and Kalan islands (V).

539 He became weary and stopped at Motutapu, which was named Sacred
173 (tapu) Island (*motu*) on that account. When he had rested, he proceeded
644 on his voyage. Again he became weary and stopped at Moungetapu in
the bay of Mua, Tongatabu island. From this fact the island is called
Moungetapu (Sacred Mountain).

From Moungetapu it is not certain where, Fasiapule took the body and
buried it. Some say it was taken to Haangongo at Malapo, some to the
royal tombs in Lapaha (*sic*).³⁷

TUITATUI, HIS SISTER, AND HIS SONS³⁸

539 There was a Tui Tonga named Tuitatui and he had a sister named
173 Latutama who was Tui Tonga also, that is, she was female Tui Tonga.
643 Tuitatui had a house with a loft at Heketa, which was the place of resi-
644 dence of the Tui Tonga before they moved to Lapaha (Mua).

One day the Tui Tonga's sister Latutama and her maidens visited
Tuitatui at his house. After conversing for some time, Tuitatui said: "Re-
main down here while I go up into the loft." Tuitatui had designs on his
sister, and he called down: "There are some boats arriving from either
Haapai or Vavau." Latutama controverted him, saying: "It is not true."
"I am telling the truth," Tuitatui asserted, "but climb up and see for your-
self. It is a large fleet, one boat, two boats, three boats, four, five, about
a hundred boats, I think."

Latutama then ascended and Tuitatui seized her. While the maidens
were waiting below, they noticed blood trickling down and they asked:
"What is that trickling down." Tuitatui answered from above: "It is from
a flying fox." To this day the place where this occurred is called Toipeka
(drop of blood of the flying fox).

539 It was Tuitatui who built the Haamonga-a-Maui (the famous trilithon)
173 and there are also a green (*malae*) and a *sika* course attributed to him.
643 At Heketa there were large houses belonging to Tuitatui, the lofts (*fata*)
of which were built of *fehi* wood and for that reason were called *fatafehi*.

539 The children of Tuitatui were Talaatama and Talaihaapepe. On the
173 death of Tuitatui, Talaatama became Tui Tonga. Talaatama conferred
643 with his younger brother and said: "Let us move our dwelling place from
644 here (Heketa) before some disaster overtakes our two boats. This spot
is bad, for it is rocky and rough." Talaihaapepe said: "Very well, but
whither shall we move?" Talaatama replied: "My idea is that we move to
(361) the Fangalongonoa, before we lose our boats." This is how it came about

[764] ³⁷ According to tradition the royal tombs of Lapaha were not yet constructed. Heketa is
probably meant, for in another account this is the reputed burial place of Tuitatui (p. 29).

³⁸ Recorded in Tongan by the Tamaha Amelia, May 27, 1844. Preserved in the genealogical
records of Her Majesty Queen Charlotte Tupou. Translated by Mrs. May Laurence.

Gifford—Tongan Myths and Tales

205

539

Peha taahine oku teu omi maata

Or is it a girl who is about to be given
to me.

The house maid then replied:

Ei, sii fale i tuani ene tau holo e sisi
kakala.
Koe kie Tonga ko siono vala.
Sii puleoto siene hoata.

Lord, a house where flower garlands are
hanging.
Fine mats are her garments.
The *puleoto* necklace has a beautiful and
glittering effect.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CEMETERY OF TUKIA ¹²³

Many generations ago, a chief named Vake, living in Haano (in the Haapai group) considered himself slighted by the people of Faleloa on the adjacent northern part of the island of Foa. It must be understood that Haano and Foa are connected by a reef and an intervening island, passable at low tide. It was over this reef that the aggrieved chief led his warriors to do battle in Foa.

Tradition is silent on the point of who were the conquerors, but it is to be supposed that the Foa people triumphed, for during the fighting Vake was decapitated. This did not interfere with his powers of locomotion. He picked up his head, put it under his arm, and ran with all speed to the end of the island, thence over the reef to Haano. He sped on through what are now the towns of Fakakakai and Pukotala, till just outside of the present town of Haano, where he dropped. There he was buried. The place is called Tukia, meaning the "dropping place." To this day it is the graveyard of the Vake family. It is said that Vake's family god brought him back to his native place, rather than have him buried in the foreign soil of another island, for Tongans always desire to be buried in their native places.

(764)

¹²³ Recorded by W. H. Murley, of Pangai, Lifuka Island, Haapai.

islands of the Vavau group (14). The Underworld from which the Maui came, and to which they returned, is not, however, spoken of as Pulotu, but simply as Lolofonua. In the Tongan Creation Myth, indeed, Pulotu, the realm of Hikuleo, is distinct from Lolofonua, the abode of the Maui. (15, p. 276).

In Tongatabu, the road or a road—to Pulotu is said to have started from a spot called Haalako, on the weather shore near the village of Foui. This part of the coast faces to the west, and is in the western part of the island. One account would seem to make a pool (*pupu*) the actual entrance to the road, while another account says that the dead go to the water's edge, and jump into the sea. Down below there is said to be a great cave. Before going down to the water's edge the dead tear off a branch from the shrub called uhi (according to Pratt, *Evodia hortensis*) and presumably take the branch with them. This would seem to be the meaning of the expression *haaki ae uhi*, though possibly it might mean to pull the shrub up, or throw it down. In Haapai, however, the plant so used is not the *uhi*, but the *toa* which is so sturdy a tree that tearing off a branch is the only likely meaning. A road at Niuaunonofo, the north-western point of Tongatabu is named from a clump of coconut trees, according to native tradition where the traveller to Pulotu plucks up a reed, *kaho*. The *uhi*, which is *namu tevolo* (smelling of spirits), is one of the most potent of medicinal plants for curing demonic possession, and for preventing the wandering of ghosts from the graves of the dead (10, pp. 137-139). Thus it may be conjectured that the newly dead take branches of this shrub as a protection against the spirit dangers that await them. An old man told me that he remembered hearing in his childhood the expression "Kuo haaki ae uhi e sii eiki" (The poor chief has broken off the *uhi*) used in connection with a chief who had just died. He added the detail that at the time he heard a noise like that made by a whale beating the sea.

In Eua, which lies a little south of the extreme easterly point of Tongatabu, the road to Pulotu is said to commence in the sea between Eua and the tiny islet Kalau, just off the southern end of Eua. In Haapai the road to Pulotu seems to start in the crater of the volcanic island of Tofua, which, with the splendid cone of Kao standing close beside it, forms the western extremity of that group. "Kuo haaki ae toa" is said of the soul which makes its way to Pulotu by jumping into the crater of Tofua. *Toa* trees are planted about many cemeteries, though not by any means confined to such positions. They are "chiefly" trees, well suited to adorn any road or compound to which it is desired to give an aspect of nobility.

POEMS RELATING TO DEATH

764 Fortunately, accounts of the burial ceremonies of great chiefs before
 114 ancient practice had been modified by Christianity have been preserved.
 Those of the London Missionary Society's missionaries (40), who landed
 in Tonga in 1797, arrived shortly before the death of the Tui Kanokupolu
 Mumui (Apr. 29, 1797). Mariner has described the burial of his friend
 and protector, Finau. Finau's daughter died shortly before her father, and
 the rites in connection with her burial are also described (28, vol. 1, pp.
 296-299, 310-329). Good examples of the wailing (*tangi*) raised im-
 mediately after a death is also given by Mariner (28, vol 1, p. 134; vol. 2,
 chapters I, V).

764 Burial usually follows soon after death; but special affection or honor
 was sometimes shown to the dead by keeping the body unburied for a
 long time. Sometimes, it would seem, the body thus kept was put into a
 sort of coffin. I have heard such a funerary casket described as *vaka* (boat
 or canoe), a striking term. In all probability the coffin was actually a boat.
 Embalming was seldom, if ever, resorted to; and when the putrefying body
 became offensive it was referred to as *namu kakala* (fragrant smelling).

349 The most remarkable monuments in Tonga are the Trilithon, Haamonga-
 764 a-Maui, in Heketa, eastern Tongatabu, and the stone-faced burial vaults
 of great chiefs, especially of the Tui Tonga, most of which are also in
 eastern Tongatabu. These are terraced, rectangular mounds, of one to five
 tiers. On the island of Niuafoou is a burial mound of rather different
 shape, being roughly oval, though it is so overgrown with scrub that it is
 difficult to get a precise idea of its shape. It is about 40 yards long, and
 3 or 4 feet high, faced with rough blocks of stone. Its shape would be
 more perfectly oval were it not that the roughness of the masonry makes
 769 angles. This is the burial ground of high chieftains, but is not treated with
 the respect that would be anticipated. People sometimes cut firewood from
 it today. They say that the chiefs buried there are not *pauu*, mischievous,
 to them. This modern rationalism, however, is not approved by all the
 elders. More strictness is observed in cleaning this cemetery, the work be-
 ing never undertaken except at the bidding of one of two chiefs, neither of
 whom lives in the island. Doubtless they are both *fahu* to the chiefs
 [602] buried there. (Relatives of superior social rank are *fahu*, especially one's
 [599] sister and father's sister, and their children.) The following poems contain
 [604] references to the ghost ship from Pulotu, and to other ways of reaching
 [605] Pulotu. Pulotu as the far-off island, however, seems to have been most
 775 prominently in the people's belief, as there is a very substantial agreement
 [598] among observers who had the opportunity of learning the conceptions of the
 Tongans before they were influenced by Christianity. Vason (37, p. 150)
 relates that Tongans, conversing about one who had lately died, said "he

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Pulotu are no less unmistakably found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of Pulotu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals. [565] [774]

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the *fahu* nullifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the *haa tufunga*, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga*. There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the *haa tufunga* take all the mats which have touched the body and are not buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank. 764 767 602 764 767 602 784 609 767

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid embarrassment. I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself) and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years. [784]

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, but not to his grandchildren. 763 593 603

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it. 763 562 764

764 As the body is lying awaiting burial, people come with gifts of mats. Much of this material is placed under the body, but when the time comes for burial it is taken away, and distributed. The body is wrapped in a big piece of native cloth (*ngatu*) rubbed over with oil; round this is wrapped a mat of the kind called *fihi*, and another large piece of *ngatu* on the outside. When the body has been thus arrayed in its grave clothes, it is placed with the head resting on a roll of *ngatu* wrapped in a *fihi*. An European pillow may be used, but never the ordinary wooden pillow (*kali*). While the body is lying awaiting burial, those about it keep waving, waving over it, [824] as though waving away flies. A plant (*uhi*) peculiarly effective in warding off supernatural beings is very appropriate to this use. Today European handkerchiefs or pieces of cloth are commonly used. This waving is more or less kept up, as circumstances permit, while the body is being borne to the cemetery, and as the corpse is lying beside the grave awaiting the actual interment. Handkerchiefs and cloth for this waving are provided by the family of the deceased.

764 The grave is not filled in with ordinary soil, but with sand from the seashore. This sand is brought up from the beach in baskets by a crowd of people. At the beach those of interior social rank are likely to be thrown into the sea and ducked, clothes and all. As they return to the village after 565 their work is done the women of lower social status may have their hair cut by the crowd. All this is taken quite good-naturedly. I have seen, at the funeral of a high chief, his widow, a middle-aged woman, go down into the sea, fully clothed and hair loosed. Sometimes, too, the people of inferior social rank were burned and cut at funerals. At times the burns were in more or less regular patterns.

764 The concluding task in the actual arrangement of the grave is the bringing and placing of coarse gravel and round pebbles, usually black, though there are green pebbles on the grave of the King Taufaahau, George Tupou I, which are said to have been brought from Fiji. This task is in charge of one who is *fahu* to the dead, and to him will be brought the kava and food proper to the occasion. If the right person cannot be present, a share of the food and kava will be taken to him. Only a family which is not wealthy will do this work themselves.

765 Every morning for some days after the funeral there will be presentations of food and kava to the bereaved family. These offerings are called *pongipongi*, a word used of other ceremonial presentations of food and kava. The length of time for which this is continued depends on the rank and importance of the family concerned. On each actual occasion of the bringing of *pongipongi* the biggest chief present will be the one to whom it is given.

Empty graves are disliked; they are a threat to the living. When a new vault is made—the rock-lined vaults of great chiefs take some time to construct, the grave of an ordinary man can be quickly dug—a stone or a wooden pillow will be put into it, lest the ghosts seek an inhabitant for it by taking off someone from among the living. It is related that when one of the Tui Tonga was being buried a *haa tufunga* man was imprisoned in the vault with him. The vault could not be opened to release him, for to do so would have meant that it was being opened to receive the newly appointed successor of the dead king. So the unlucky man was left in the vault to die. This man should have had certain duties in connection with the presentation of the *pongipongi* each morning, but his place was vacant. So a messenger went each morning for seven or eight days to the grave and reported the gifts that were brought, and the imprisoned *mata-pule* cried out the appropriate thanks. Then there came a day when no response was heard from the vault, and the living concluded that the man was dead, and a successor was appointed. 769 765

Where there is only a grave to be dug the digging is the last task undertaken in the preparation for the burial. Should a funeral have to be postponed to the day following that on which it was expected, although the grave has been dug, the grave is not left open over night, but is filled in, and re-opened the following day. There is a dislike to starting a new burial ground, lest the ghosts of the few buried there be lonely, and seek to increase their company. 764 [769]

Hocart (25) says that in Samoa he asked the question, "What is an *aitu*?" and got the answer, "The man who is dead." A Tongan girl whom I asked, "Who are the *tevolo*?" replied, "The people who are dead." These ghosts appear in various forms to the living. It is said that it was once the custom for the friends of a man who had died to come to the house where he had died, after his burial, and spread mats on the floor, and wait till some creature crawled on to the mats. This creature, whatever it might be, was carefully wrapped up, and taken away and kept. It was the dead man's spirit, *lau-malie*. (For fuller details see 20; 28; 37; 40; 10, pp. 136-142.) 775

SONG OF TUKULUA¹

Na'e fa'u 'i he ene mahaki'ia

To e totoka peau hahano,

Langa hoto 'ofa ki he huni vao;

Malimali pe siale tuikako,

Kolo atu kuou to ki lalo.

Koe vaka e 'ikai kei ato

Ka koloto e mala ni kuo mao;

When the calm mists fall I am filled
with yearning,With welling desire for the forest *huni*;Smiling are the wreaths of *siale*;

I think of you, I who am fallen down.

The boat has not yet come to land,

But I cannot escape this fate that is
planned;539
76

Collocott—Tales and Poems of Tonga

79

Tu'ula he tata'anga lei,
Ifi e kele'a ta moe vehi.
Pehe ni ha 'aho kou ma 'i heni;
Mate 'ofa he enau nofo holo,
Taupala 'e he taka tolo,

Tama 'ae fuifui pule'oto,"
'O tu'ula 'i he vao motelolo.
Angi mai angi he he-'ia
Langi faka-sinifu e nofo.

Light on the place where ivory is carved, 539
Blow the conch, beat the drum. 76
'Twas such a day that we were here;"
How I love their sitting about,
Frequenting of those who come to the
games,"
The chief with necklace of *puleoto*,
And they gather amongst the *motelolo*."
Blow hither, blow, *he, he'ia*,
Choir of women farewell."

ON THE DEATH OF THE TUI TONGA

Very unfortunately the record of this very ancient poem has been mutilated. The effort to recover the missing lines from the memory of a very able Tongan who had read them was unsuccessful. Four lines and the greater part of a fifth are missing. 539
76
643
127
124

Neu tu'u 'i Langi-'e-he-tupua,
Mana-foli lupe otu fonua,

Na'i Mata-'o-peka mo Vei-tuna,
Faka'ofa 'e Malama-'i-saau,
Koe tu'i 'o mama mo 'otua.
Tanumanga ne tu'u moe tatai,

Tu'u ai 'Ala-'i-vaha-mama'o;
Koe Tu'a-niu hala kuo mao.

Na'i Lupe 'o Manono mo Fualu
Tu'u (he?).....evalu
(four lines)

Ko homau Tu'i ka malii atu
'Oafio 'i Pulotu-tu'u-ma'u
'Ae toki pata 'e asihau
'I he ene taulalo 'a Vava'u.
Ho he.

I stood in Langihetupua,
Pigeons flew ominous throughout the
lands,"

Ah, poor Mataopeka and Veituna,
Malama's moves pity,"
King of earth and a god,"
That which is buried was there with the
screen,"

Alaivahanamao stood there;"
The Midrib-of-the-coconut-leaflet is dead,
what a thing has happened."

Dear Pigeon of Manono and Fualu"
Stood.....eight "

(four lines)

Our King is returning thither
To reign in Pulotutuumau."
Then the king's attendants rejoice "
When Vavau sinks out of sight."
Ho he."

KOE TAKIPO O NAU

When a very great chief dies fires are kept burning throughout the night round the house in which the body is lying. This ceremony, which is called *takipo*, has been witnessed twice on a large scale in Nukualofa during recent years, once on the death of Fatafehi, Tui Pelehake, in 1912, and again in 1918 when King George Tupou II died. During the nights in which the king's body was lying in state, the Palace enclosure was surrounded by hundreds of torches, tended by people who sat noiseless. Each light was burning over a little hearth, called *fakaolaanga*, formed of a tray (*pola*) of plaited coconut leaf, on which were laid pieces of the stem of the plantain tree, covered with a layer of sand. To bring the sand for this purpose is *fala mai ae one one*. 766
764
372
129

766 Three persons, men or women indifferently, are in attendance at each
 764 hearth, sitting on three sides of it. One, called *takipo*, sits facing the direc-
 712 tion in which the corpse is lying, and holding the torch, *fofongaimama*,
 horizontally over the sand, and pointing towards the corpse. No one sits
 on the side towards the body. This side is sacred (*toputapu*) and no one
 may pass on that side except a person of superior social rank (*fahu*) to
 the dead chief. To the left and right of the man holding the torch are two
 attendants (*feangai*) facing the torch. They keep the torch burning brightly
 by knocking the ash from it with little sticks. The ashes that fall to the
 sand they extinguish by brushing sand over it with their little sticks. When
 the torch, formed of the dry spathe of the coconut flower, is nearly burned
 out a new one is held alongside it until it is fairly alight. The old torch
 is then dropped on to the sand, and extinguished by the *feangai* brushing
 sand on to it with their little sticks. When one of the watchers is wearied,
 or desires a change, his place is silently taken by a fresh watcher. The silent
 crowds and the hundreds of lights make the ceremony singularly impressive.

When daylight comes the lights are kept burning until the first light
 has been extinguished (*lolo ae po*) by someone who is *fahu* to the deceased
 chief. A foreigner, being exempt from the tapu that surrounds the native,
 might also give this signal. On one of the mornings when the *takipo* was
 being kept for the late King George Tupou II a high chiefly lady who
 was *fahu* to the King and was being awaited to *lolo ae po* was late in
 arriving. The service of an Indian were just about to be requisitioned
 when the *fahu* lady came.

766 Everyone, of course, wears the *taovala*, the cincture of respect, over
 764 the ordinary clothing, except those who are *fahu* to the dead chief. The
 292 proper dress for the *fahu* is the piece of native cloth called *tapa ki vae*—that
 is, the end of the cloth at which the staining and stencilling are started.
 This smaller dress (*vala*) than ordinary is used by chiefly youths as a free-
 and-easy dress for sports.

766 The following composition is a call on various localities to come and
 764 keep the vigil about the body of Nau, or a list of those who did come. It
 594 seems to be incomplete, as the manuscript ends with "etc." It is a list
 (55) that might be continued indefinitely. The places mentioned are in Vavau.
 Nau is not an uncommon name, both of men and women. This particular
 Nau has not been identified. There is perhaps a slight balance of proba-
 bility in favor of its being a woman rather than a man.

Exceeding pleasant the dear wind'
 That blew on Teisina, and came
 Straight on our spreading *takafalu*.
 The dear double-canoe of Nau and me,
 There was our canoe-house
 With upper story of wild hau,

Where went in and out,
 And cried to be carried to bathe
 Tuoua and the mat *palatalu*,
 A dear thing that besemed Nau.
 Tend the vigil fires ye hills of Vavau,
 Start the watch Kafoa and Talau,

Collocott—Tales and Poems of Tonga

81

The vigil is kept by the hillock of Pau,
Hunga kept the vigil, kept it Nuapapu,
They kept thy vigil in Fakapenau,
Thy vigil went out through the head-lands,

In Otea and Motuahala 'twas kept.
Thy vigil was kept in Hikupapa,
'Twas kept by Taunga and the isles of Mala,

Thy vigil was kept in Nukumahanga,
Tauta watched, watched also Kapa,
Thy vigil was kept in Lautala,

Ofu watched, watched Mafana,
Koloa watched, watched Niuhaka,
Thy vigil went through to Matoto,
Vaolongolongo tended vigil fires,
And Mahinahopo tended vigil fires,
Thy vigil was kept in Apivao,
Thy vigil went through to the east
Potuitoume tended vigil fires,
Thy vigil was kept in Faheke,
Vaimasiniake tended vigil fires,
And the steepes of Nove tended vigil fires.

766
764
539

ULAMOLEKA'S POEM ON THE DEATH OF VEAINU

A marvellous feat of memory is associated with this piece. Veainu was the father of Falepapalangi, the bard, the friend of Ulamoleka, sailor and poet. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were in Eua when the news of Veainu's death was brought from Tongatabu. Falepapalangi at once returned to Tongatabu, but Ulamoleka stayed on in Eua. After a time he too returned to Tongatabu, and went to pay the customary ceremonial visit of condolence to his friend Falepapalangi. The visitor on these occasions always brings gifts such as mats, cloth, kava, food. The recipient formally thanks the giver for each of his gifts. Ulamoleka, however, brought nothing to Falepapalangi except a small piece of native cloth, which he spread on the ground before him, and then he recited this poem, which was the real gift to Falepapalangi. Falepapalangi thanked his friend for the cloth, and then said "Thanks for the —" and starting at the first line he went right through the piece, which he had just heard for the first time.

Some details are not clear, but the general trend is plain. The text was badly written in pencil. Comparison with another copy, had it been available, might have cleared up some points. I have changed the order of a very few lines. After the opening, recounting the receiving of the sad news, the bard goes on to picture the collecting of mats, as a gift to the family in honor of the dead man. Having finished collecting mats in Tonga he imagines a voyage to Samoa, to get other mats, and the collecting of presents from Fiji. But after all mats and cloth are but perishable, and he will give another form of wealth, poetry.

Riding the waves in the surf of Maka-unga,

Mine the second, thine the first wave,
And I went turning over
To Utupakisi, the pool.
The last breaker, and I come up ashore,
And the west wind brings the report,
My body shook and started,
No marvel lightnings flash and rains
pour,

The vail in flood, Ohontua wave-girt.

Yea, the head timbers of the roof,
Alas, the treasure of Finemua.
Thought, meseema, is barren,
And storm is at hand,
And our anchor parted,
And we are driven beyond Hunga.
And at once I made my thing of nought,
Would that my doing were as a double
mat,

764
539
[27]

764 *Usufeolo* that is doubled^a
 539 With the weaving of *utukaunga*.
 Unworthy is the mat of *Tungua*,^a
 But yet 'tis the portion of *Falotuma*.
 Bring then weaving of *Matuku*,
Efu mat and mat of red feathers,^a
Fatu mat is a mat not plentiful,
 The Tongan *kie* is in abundance.
 Weave *fiu* *Uiha* and *Lifuka*,
 And take (mats) *Vavau*, and gather them
 With the cloth of the plover and twin
 birds.^a

A *kie* of *Toku* for his adorning.^a
 Or a mat of *Late* for clothing to *Mua*.^a
 Finished is the wealth of our land,
 Now receive ye [my commands].^a
 I shall spring up and leave the land:
 When darkness falls I shall set the
 course,—

Make fast the sail, help with the oar.
Amonga and *Tupa* swim on—
 When *Tuatangaufi* is on high
 Marked beyond the land;
 At the rising of *Vaiutukitua*
 The isle *Tafuna* is lighted.
 Pass on to *Veuki* and *Apiua*,
Faipa and *Aloua*.
 Then 'pass on and leave,
 For not yet are in close company^a
 Our boats, that they be not changed.
 But on we come, we two,
 To reach *Manuka* at dawn;^a
 Do you remain with *Nafanua*,^a
 A difficult fellow, for 'tis a god—
 To *Sau* and *Leiautaua*,^a
 Cast to me in full measure,
 Till there be no mat left in a commoner's
 home.

Utter a chirping to cause to perch^a
 And snare the bird, the *kula*,
 For a man of *Navua* to take,^a
 Or people of *Kupulau* to use colorfully,
 Those who polish in *Nautapa*.^a
 Cut sandalwood of *Vuia* from *Bua*,
 Mats of *Moala* set in a row,
 Collect cord of *Sisia*,

And bear on two poles a great coil of
 cord.

Chief of *Nateba*, then, be prepared,^a
 And a mat double-woven
 To *Lakemba* and its islands of *Lau*.
 For I am greatly awearied
 In having hidden wealth;^a
 There was nothing that was pleasing
 To comfort therewith your heart.
 It was as meeting on a day^a
 With my dear pigeon not yet skilled,
 The cord is pulled, it is broken off in the
 hand.

If I give a mat it will rot,
 If I give cloth it will be torn.
 The poem is but bad, yet take it,
 That it be to thee boat and house,^a
 For thou art skilled in its taking,^a
 And ever have I joyed^a
 When the ignorant of heart have conned
 a poem

In companionship with the wise.
 And I was ever going backwards^a
 On the face of the water in *Anopepe*,
 For I was as a cuttle-fish
 In my desire to appear to thee;
 When it was so they would laugh,
 And start and shrug,
 Both matron and maid.
 It is like a steep cliff,^a
 Two throws strike its face.
 This is my small piece of *kava*
 To *Hikuleo* and his mother,^a
 The food with it is young spiders,
 And I just left it in my heart
 That I might ponder it in his house.
Atamusi, *Atavaha*, at their first coming
 up^a

With their precious bundle,
 A ship built in *America*,
 And the bundle of the chief of *Ponape*,
 And the war flag of *France*;
 Then indeed do we wish to go
 In his ship that brings wealth of *Nuse*
 For the grief of *Konoafafine*.^a

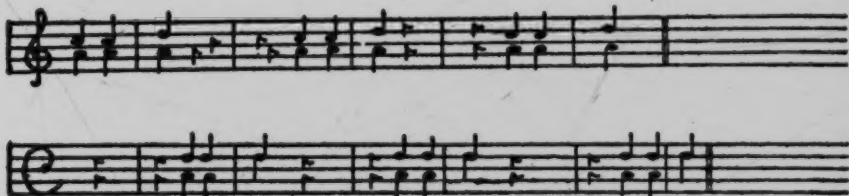
FALEPAPALANGI'S LAST POEM¹

539 'He ene teu ke pekia.
 763 *Malu efihi* peau *hoha'a*,
Mafatua pea ta *koe mala*,
Ongo kovi kia *Uluaki-mapa*.
Kuo heka e peau *tu'unga'a*,
Ngoto ai e *kaatea moe hama* . . .

The shades of even fall and I am uneasy,
Sneeze,^a and, alack, misfortune,
 Evil the sound to *Uluakimapa*.^a
 A sudden wave has risen,
 Whelmed are the leeward and windward
 canoe. . . .

533
539

Chanty No. 31 is used by sailors in making sail, and in general by men hauling on a heavy load. The first and third lines are sung by the leader, and the second and fourth are the response by the body of the men.



31

Fai la, fai la, tu,
O-a.
I-o-i-a e
E.

Make sail, make sail, tu,
O-a.
I-o-i-a e,
E.

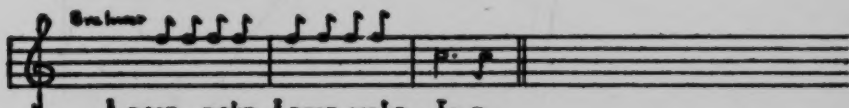
• [164]

Chanty No. 32, sung to the same tune as No. 31, was used especially in raising and lowering the stone covering of a burial vault. Chanties were sung during such tasks even at the tomb of Tui Tonga.

32

Langa maka, langa maka (sung by leader)
I-a (response by men).

Raise stone, raise stone,
I-a.



Langa maka Langa maka, I- a.
(Leader) (Response)

[483]
[461]

Chanty No. 33 is used in hauling heavy weights.

33

Amatu e, a mai e,
To-ho, i-o. (These two lines sung by leader.)
Io. (Response by men.)



Lau ki Tave mo Mata-lave,
Mo'unga moe Kolo-utu-kape.

34

Tell of Tave and Matalave,
Mountain and Koloutukape.

599 but containing a pun, the name meaning Man-who-believes-stories), or if anyone nearer home likes it let him have it."

Page 73. Falepapalangi

- [127] 1. There are many obscurities in the details of this poem, some of which might have been cleared up had a second text been available.
- [538] 2. It is not clear what is meant by exchanging poems. There might possibly have been an arrangement for performing each other's pieces which was not carried out. It may be a sarcastic reference to a claim of Mamaeapoto that they were equal in poetic skill.
3. Mamaeapoto is in the entourage of strong chiefs.
- [538] 4. The two poets sought conquests amongst the women in separate districts, and the inference seems to be that, in their art too, they had better confine themselves to separate spheres or districts. The Feleave in the text seems to be an islet in the west of Tongatabu. The *siale* and the *hangale* are taken as typical plants of the two districts.
5. The meaning seems to be that "right from the commencement of our rivalry I showed myself a man of real achievement, while you have uttered nothing but foolishness; and whereas those foolish efforts of yours have proved futile, my poems have never lost their power to please."
6. Possibly there is a secondary meaning—make love.
7. To end. Besides the obvious meaning of engaging in the sport of snaring pigeons there is the meaning of winning the favors of women, who are frequently referred to as *lupe* (pigeon). He sarcastically tells his rival that he will get sweet-hearts for him and his party, as they have not much freedom to do anything for themselves.

Pages 73-79. Song of Tukulua

- 539 1. Nothing seems to be known of Tukulua beyond this poem, which was composed during the poet's illness.
- 76 2. *Huni* and *siale* are names of fragrant plants.
- [538] 3. A slight emendation of *hotau* to *koto* would give "my" instead of "our."
- [763] If the text is correct, it means the boat that ultimately bears us all away. This line and the one following may be a general reference to his own past life, his days of health and happiness, or there may be something of a belief that the fortunes of his ghost ship, even in the days before his illness, were parallel to his own. But probably this should not be pressed. Through it all is perhaps recollection of the days of his strength, when even though the storm raged and his mainsheet was snapped, yet he could bring his boat safely through to land and embark his "dear desire," his sweet-heart; or that he could win through all hazards because he had her with him on board.
- [824] 4. Onevao is an islet off Tongatabu; Niutao is not identified. Evidently both places are associated with pleasant experiences.
- [823] 5. Thunder and lightning are frequently mentioned as presaging death or disaster.
- [763] 6. *Pulotu 'ako'aka* should possibly be translated "widely ramified Pulotu." The word 'ako'aka is regarded merely as an epithet of Pulotu, but the Rev. James Watkin says: "Bulotu *tete*, Bulotu *akaaka* and Bulotu *tuumau* are the names of the Tongan three heavens." Watkin was in a better position to gain information than any inquirer can be today.
- [821] 7. Land of light (*mama*) is applied to the world of mortals, and to mortals themselves.
- [772] 8. The *heilala* (*Gardenia* sp.) is one of the plants used in the sweet-smelling wreaths and garlands. Leaf girdles are frequently hung at the head of graves, and are then called *tapu kakala*.
- [792] 9. Pebbles, with which graves are adorned. *Fatailangalanga* is the name of an unidentified place.
- [760] 10. The reference means "Do not only give my body honorable burial, but also speak kindly of me." "Character" is *anga*. It is possible, however, that *anga* is an old word no longer known among Tongans, meaning "spirit." Compare Samoan *anganga*, thought, a disembodied spirit (32); Niue, *anganga*, the soul, spirit (35); Hawaiian, *anaana*, a prayer used to procure the death or curse upon one; witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and kindred meanings (1); and the well-known Tongan word, *angaanga*, corpse.
- [764] [192]

11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamanga* (p. 130).

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there is a covert allusion to love.

13. The form of the phrase *tuma 'ae fuisi puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of *puleoto* recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over.

14. The *motelolo* is a tree.

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fasi* apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langihetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault.

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otu fonua*) was an omen of the King's death.

3. In the original Tongan text *mata 'o paka* is written as three words and would thus mean face (front) of *paka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known.

4. *Malamaisaua* (indistinctly written, and possibly *Malamaisana*, but *Malamaisaua* suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the King himself.

5. '*Otua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned.

6. Screen (*talau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tahunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.

7. *Alaivahamamao*, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.

9. *Manono* and *Fualu* are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that *Manono* is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of *Manono* and *Fualu* is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of *Manono* and *Fualu*, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *ecalu*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afu* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king of Pulotu, for *Hikuleo* is ruler there; but the word *afu* is used of the Tui Tonga and has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutumuau (Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided

539 Pulotu into three departments, is it not possible that Pulotutumuau, which the poet
76 regards as the destination of the Tui Tonga, may be a pleasanter place than Pulotuaka-
643 aka, to which Tukulua refers with evident repugnance. There is always the possibility
[775] of simply descriptive epithets being applied to the same Pulotu.

12. In *asi-hau*, attendants of the *hau* (king), it is interesting to have a clear
[192] example of the application of the word *hau* to the Tui Tonga. *Hau* indicates kingship,
[192] lordship actually manifest in power and rule, rather than chieftainship which is the
prerogative of birth. In the later days of the Tui Tonga, when his power was
becoming gradually overshadowed by the growing might of the Tui Kano'upolu, the
word *hau* was more often used of the more powerful king, and on occasion even of
other chiefs who happened for the time being to have won preeminence through military
virtue.

13. As Vavau is the northern group of the Tongan islands, evidently the king's
539 road to Pulotu takes him in a generally northerly direction. It is possible, however,
76 that this is an echo of the Vavau that occurs so widely in Polynesian tradition as
643 one of the stopping places in the migrations. Since the attendants rejoice when Vavau
[775] has sunk out of sight, it is to be presumed that they rejoice because they have entered
[829] on the last stage of the voyage to Pulotu. It is difficult to say whether the king is
regarded as having already made the voyage to Pulotu, or as being about to make it.
The only indication of time is given by *ka* in *ka malia*, which usually marks future, or
[764] indefinite time. I have not heard a period assigned as elapsing between death and the
[766] departure of the spirit; but the tapu on a house in which a death has occurred is
removed by sprinkling water in it a few days after the death; bodies of great chiefs
are kept unburied longer than those of common people; funerary tapu for some high
chiefs were kept in force for as long as a year; occasionally bodies were kept unburied
for months, even for years, apparently as a mark of special affection.

14. Following *ko he* in the manuscript is "etc." Apparently there were other
539 syllables in the refrain.

76 Pages 79-81. Koe Takipo o Nau

643 1. The opening lines refer to scenes pleasant in the life and friendship of Nau.
2. The *takafalu* is a tree. The hard and Nau used to sit in its shade.
3. This reference is not very clear and many interpretations are grammatically
[766] possible. *Tuono* and *fihipalavatu* are the names of two kinds of mats, but may be
[764] the nicknames of two children who used to run in and out and ask to be taken to the
539 sea to bathe. Or perhaps it is meant that Nau used to go in and out of the canoe
house. Possibly Nau is the subject and reference is made to two children who used
[824] to ask to be taken to bathe. Or all the lines may refer to Nau, though why she
should desire to be carried to bathe is not very clear. Still there are stories of
chiefly girls who were not permitted to walk, and such stories must have some basis in
fact. The difficulty of interpretation is not lessened by the fact that instead of *fafa*
(both *a's* short), the word may be read with the last *a* long, as in fact it is marked
in the manuscript, and the meaning is then not "carry," but "grope, feel." When so
many interpretations are grammatically possible it is impossible to decide without some
information about Nau.

4. Koloa, an island and village of ancient fame. The Maui are said by a very
good informant to have belonged originally to Koloa, but the exact relations of the
names Vavau and Haafuluhaio apparently are not very clear to modern Tongans.

76 Pages 81-82. Ulamoleka's poem on the death of Veainu

539 1. Makaunga is in Eua. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were together in Eua
when the news of Veainu's death reached them.
2. Two different types of waves.
[36] 3. Ohonua is the head village of Eua. A deep gully (the "vale" in the text)
[50] runs down beside the village, and opens into the sea, forming a little boat harbor.
Frequently boats are weather-bound here by the heavy sea running on the bar at the
harbor mouth.
[55] 4. The reference is to Veainu. Finemua is a name for Falepapalangi.
5. Hunga is two steep, lonely rocky islets about twenty miles north of Tongatabu.
Ulamoleka expresses distress and dismay at the death of Veainu, which was not
unexpected when Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka left Tongatabu for Eua.

Collocott—Tales and Poems of Tonga

141

6. The references are to various mats of Tonga and to collecting them, figuratively, as a gift in honor of the dead man. The italicized words are names of mats. Tungua, Matuku, Uihā, Līfuka, are all in Haapai. 764
539

7. The reference is to the Tamaha (the daughter or son) of the Tui Tonga Fefine. The Tamaha lived in Tungua. Here she is called Falotuma, a species of hula. "Even if a mat obtained from Tungua should prove to be of not much account as a mat yet it derives value from its origin in the island of Tamaha" (12, pp. 178-189). 103
644

7a. "Mat of red feathers" means "mat adorned with red feathers." The form *hulu kula* is interesting, as the normal Tongan would be *fulu kula*. This form hints at the likelihood of the introduction of the adornment of mats with red feathers from some one or other of the groups of islands farther east.

8. Plover (*hiu*) and double-bird (*manuhia*) are two of the designs used on the native cloth. 531

9. Tokū is a name occurring in several parts of Tonga (21), but evidently here it is one or other of the places so named in 'Avau. 103

10. Late is a high volcanic island southwest from the main part of the Vavau group. "Clothing for Mua" (the capitol) would be a mat of good kind that was customarily used as a dress for Mua. 133

11. The poet having finished what he has to say about the mats and cloth of Tonga will now sail to Samoa to collect further wealth. Ulamoleka is still remembered as a very expert navigator, and these lines give him the opportunity to use his knowledge of the stars. The names used, such as Amonga and Tupa (16, pp. 4-9) are star names. The opportunity of direct identification of the stars by their Tongan names seems to have passed irrevocably. Amonga, which is not included in my earlier list, is given by Pratt, for Samoa, as "The name of the stars which form the belt of Orion." Alotulu seems to be another name for the same stars. A very important part of the equipment of the skillful navigator was the knowledge when to leave one star as a guiding mark and pass on to the next (compare "Then pass on and leave," line 43). These lines may recall a voyage which Ulamoleka and Falepapalangi had actually made in company to Samoa. 502
821
502

12. These lines seem to mean that Ulamoleka was able to keep his boat ahead of Falepapalangi's, probably recalling a voyage they had made.

13. Manuka, or Manua, the eastern part of Samoa.

14. Nafanua was a goddess of Savaii, one of the eastern islands of Samoa. She was the daughter of Saveasileo, god of Pulotu (36, p. 38; 26, vol. 1, p. 23). In Tongan myth Nafanua is the twin sister of Topukulu, and the daughter of Tokilangafonua and his sister Hina. Tokilangafonua went to Samoa and thither the twin sisters, who were then joined back to back, swam to find him: Their father on seeing them and not knowing who they were, made as though he would strike them; in their alarm the girls jumped apart and were separated. The girls did not know their father, and in their ignorance both became pregnant to him. Topukulu became the mother of the sea god Hemoanauiliuli, and Nafanua, of the goddess Tafakula, of Eua. The lines in the poem would seem to mean that Falepapalangi was to remain in Savaii while Ulamoleka passed on eastwards to Manua, although the preceding lines would imply that they both went to Manua. Nafanua is one of the notable personalities on the way, and they turn aside to honor her, either by an actual going ashore and presenting kava at her temple, or, more probably, by the poet honoring her by remembrance in his verses. 764
539
773

15. Sau and Leistaua are said to be two chiefs in Samoa to whom Tongans used to go for mats. 764

16. The translation of this line uncertain. 539

17. The names mentioned are places in Fiji, which are now called upon to furnish their quota of fit presents. 439

18. The text at this place is bad and both text and translations are conjectural.

19. I can not find any appropriate meaning for the Tongan word *kouia*, and conjecture that it is the Fijian *nggouta* (strike), though it is doubtful if even this would give an appropriate meaning. 192

20. The "hidden wealth" is presumably the gift of the bard. Why this should weary him is difficult to see, unless the meaning is that while he had been thinking of mats and cloth for a present the hidden wealth of his muse has been longing to break forth. 532

21. With the picture of the pigeon not yet properly trained and breaking its 192

cord when the hunter attempts to pull it back to him, is probably the figure of courting a girl who is yet too shy and coy to respond to the advances of her lover.

22. "That it be of comfort and use to thee on sea and land."

23. "Thou art skilled in its taking" signifies "Being a bard yourself, and able to carry things of this sort about with you in your mind." How skilled he was in this taking, Falepapalangi presently proved by repeating the whole piece.

24. These lines seem to be a general approval of liberal culture.

25. This apparently is a modest depreciation of his own efforts. Anopepe is in Eua.

26. "Like a steep cliff" is the poet's inability to do justice to the dead man, or to the merits of Falepapalangi. "Two throws strike its face," a very intelligent Tongan explained as indicating a high cliff where a stone dropped from the top struck the cliff face before falling to the bottom; but since two throws are mentioned it would rather suggest throwing a stone from the bottom.

27. The mother of Hikuleo was Havealolofonua, one of the original goddesses, born of seaweed and mud. This hint of her living with Hikuleo in Pulotu (Hikuleo was the god of Pulotu) is very rare, if not unique, in Tongan myth. The Samoan god of Pulotu was Saveasileo, preserving in himself both the names Haven and Hikuleo (26; 15, No. 3, p. 276). An old Maui, the grandfather of Maui Kisikial, is represented as living in the underworld.

28. Atamusi and Atavaha are said to be two gods from Pulotu who brought some forms of wealth to men. The wish is expressed that all the wealth brought by these two, and all the wealth brought in modern times from foreign lands could be given to Falepapalangi to console him in his grief. There is said to have been a man living in Tonga some time ago who was called the Ponepe. I have conjectured that he came from Ponepe. The war flag of France is perhaps a reference to the visit of a French vessel of war in the forties of last century. Nuse is presumably New Zealand, although now the Tongans call that country Niu Sila.

29. Konaofafine (Treasure of women) is a name for Falepapalangi.

Pages 82-84. Falepapalangi's last poem

1. The name Haapai stands at the head of this piece and at the end, a note that it is the last poem of Falepapalangi.

2. The sneeze is not always a sign of bad luck. It is supposed to be a good sign in a sick man. One informant, however, says that to sneeze in sleep is a sign of death; a sneeze lying on right side is an omen of death on the father's side of the family, if on left, of death on the mother's side, and if the one who sneezes is lying on his back it is a sign of his own death. In ordinary usage a sneeze is greeted with a laugh, as 'it is said to indicate that someone is in love with the person who sneezes. This recalls the propitious sneezes in Catullus' well-known lines. To sneeze, however, just before entering on some enterprise is said to be a bad sign.

3. Ulukimapa is a nickname (*hinga fakatenetene*) of some chief. These names are always pleasant.

4. By this metaphor of the sea Falepapalangi indicates the coming of his sickness upon him.

5. Some lines possibly have fallen out at this point. There are indicated instances of wrong procedure on the part of a *matapule*, the poet himself, in this instance. He describes his conducting a kava ceremony without having a piece of the root before him. He also describes some wrong disposal of the food (*fono*) served with the kava.

6. This is another sea metaphor; to come up to the wind here means "sailed well up to the wind of success."

7. The text expresses his misplaced confidence and pride; he regarded himself as a man of mark.

8. "To level the hill" is "to lay himself low."

9. Ulukiheilala is a nickname of some chief. The *Asilala* is one of the plants used in the garlands and girdles. The chief, in his anxiety for Falepapalangi, gives orders for a boat to be got ready to sail to some place where there is a temple and sanctuary, to supplicate there, and turn away the anger of the god.

10. Heataukakapa is another nickname, probably that of a chief who was a friend of Falepapalangi.

11. The bird of heaven is an omen, presaging the death of Falepapalangi. Kaimotokanga (eat and attend) is a proverbial expression for proceeding warily. The bird

539 Pages 103-104. The environs of Nukualofa

823 1. This poem is assigned, but apparently incorrectly, to Falepapalangi, the bard of Hihifo, who is represented by a number of pieces in this collection. The seventeenth and eighteenth lines and the closing portion of the poem indicate that the composer was a man of Vavau. These lines may be ironical, or meant to indicate that he has become accustomed to the praise of Vavau in his work and has developed a fondness for that part of the group. It is much more probable that the lines about Vavau are to be taken literally. The piece may have been composed by Falepapalangi's great rival Mamaeapoto.

[538] 2. Reckoning from Tonga the "wind from the back of Koloa" would be about northeast.

[103] 3. Tongataeapa (Tonga without respect) is a portion of the modern town of Nukualofa, where a number of chiefs lived. The name indicates that the locality was so chiefly that it paid respect to no other locality, but had respect paid to it.

[103] 4. Onemalama was a bathing-place of the chiefs in Tongataeapa; it is now filled up.

5. There is a *ngingie uta*, land *ngingie*, and a *ngingie tahi*, sea, or seashore, *ngingie*.

6. Veitata, a pool.

7. Names of localities or compounds.

8. Veimusieua; a pool in Nukualofa, near the home of the chief Ata.

9. This is not a compound, but a clump of *kahikahi*, a fern-like plant.

10. The meaning of this line not clear. A slight emendation, changing *hono* to *hoto*, would give the meaning "my mind has been hidden," which would be in keeping with other lines, indicating the poet's ignorance of some of the localities.

[164] 11. Malaaloa, in the modern Nukualofa, is a *mala* (burial ground) belonging to the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui and his family.

[764] 12. Faletuipapai is a burial ground belonging to the Tui Kanokupolu Aleamotua and his family. It is alongside Malaaloa, and the two burial grounds are now joined in one.

539 13. Pulepulekai is the site of the present British Residency and Consulate. There is a cape of the same name in Vavau.

823 14. Tupouveiongo, or simply Veiongo, is the hill on which the Wesleyan Church in Nukualofa stands; it is called, since its application to this Christian use, Saione, Zion. Veiongo (sounding water) is said to have been given to the hill because the sound of flowing water could be heard by placing the ear to the ground.

[368] 15. Felemaka, a locality inland in Nukualofa is now the dwelling of a Wesleyan native minister.

16. Mataloko, Ngallulahi and Sisilouango are the names of headlands or eminences (*matanga*) in Vavau.

17. Tatauoalo means the top of the hill Talau in Vavau.

18. Falefilimoto is given by Gifford as a sea-cliff in Vavau. A timber used in house-building is termed *filimoto*.

Pages 104-105. Vavau and Haapai

1. Keitahi and Tausisivavaki are beaches in Vavau.

[776] 2. Lofia is the volcano in Tofua, Haapai. Vailahi (Great water) would seem to be the crater lake of this volcano. That the volcanic cone is in the lake is a peculiar construction. Their being in close association must be understood without pressing the local significance of 'i. It is said, however, that Lofia is the name of the god who lies within the crater and spurts out fire and smoke and stones.

[504] 3. Paluki is a beach, affording excellent anchorage for small boats, in Lifuka, Haapai. Kasivaki is unidentified, but is evidently a place in the same locality.

[551] 4. Loupua (Leaf of *pua*, a plant with sweet-smelling blooms) is a nickname for the king, possibly the King of Haapai. The people of Haapai generally are said to be sometimes called *pua*. Haapai is a cluster of islets, scattered so that its people [101] spend more time at sea than do those of any other part of Tonga. This exposure to wind and weather is said to give them a ruddy complexion, whence the nickname *pua*, for the red blooms of the plant. Pangai is on the island of Lifuka, Haapai.

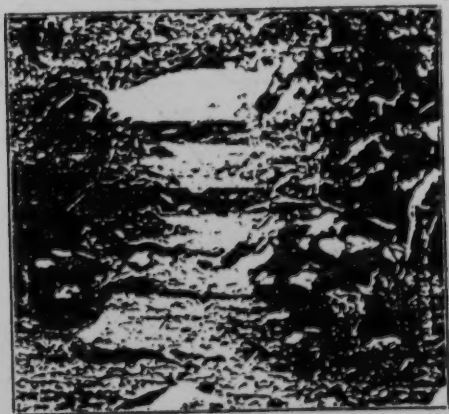
539 5. When vessels visit Haapai they put in at Lifuka, but it is possible that the remains of the *Port-au-Prince*, in which Mariner arrived in 1806 are indicated. The 823 *Port-au-Prince* was cut out on the sea-front of Lifuka. She was burned, but her final [726] resting place was in shallow water and doubtless a little wreckage was visible.

172

764



A



B

172

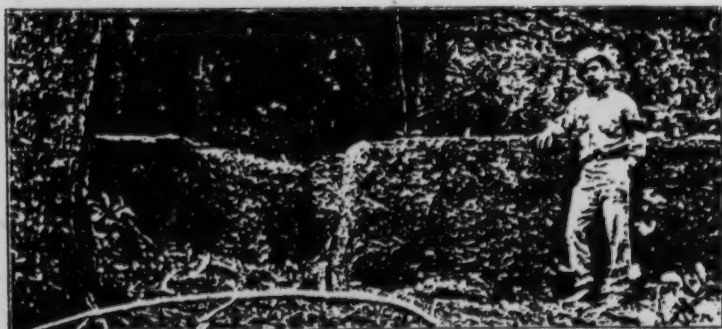
345



C

A. STAIRLIKE RAMP ASCENDING THE LANGI KATON AT MUA, TONGATAPU;
B. RAMP ASCENDING THE LANGI OLOVEHI, HIIHO, ISLAND OF LIFUKA; C. IN-
CLINED RAMP ASCENDING THE ARTIFICIAL MOUND SHUMAFU'ATA, TONGATAPU,
SHOWN NEAR ITS OUTER END.

[End Plate 2]

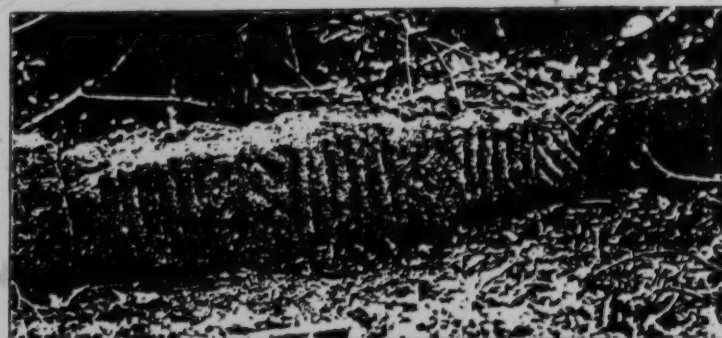


172
764

A



B



172
764
531

C

A, CORNER STONES OF THE LANGI LEKA, MUA, TONGATABU, SHOWING HOW THE CORNER STONES HAVE SPREAD AND THE RETAINING EARTH WASHED AWAY; B, MONUMENTAL STONE IN WALL OF THE LANGI TA'UHALA, MUA, TONGATABU; C, INCISED DECORATIONS ON STONE OF THE LANGI KATOA, MUA, TONGATABU.

[End Plate 3]

172
764



A



B

VIEWS OF LANGIS ON SITES RECENTLY CLEARED BY THE GOVERNMENT AT MUA, TONGATABU: A, PAEPAE O TELEA; B, PUPUI (PHOTOGRAPHED IN 1926 BY V. GIBBS.)

[End Plate 4]

length of the roadway being determined by the height of the structure. Most of these approaches were supported on either side by retaining walls, similar to the walls of the main structure. A few were paved with stone slabs or rough fragments of stone, or surfaced with gravel. Access to certain platforms was by means of low stone steps placed at certain points against the retaining walls. Where the low steps adjoin relatively high walls, they seem merely to have marked the proper place for mounting rather than to have afforded help in ascending the structure.

STONE HOUSE PARTS

Many ancient houses of the better class were supplied with a stone door sill, made of a single oblong, roughly blocked out hexahedron about a foot in width, which filled the base of the doorway to a height of somewhat less than a foot. Such stone sills appear in a few modern houses but it is probable that a wooden sill was always more common.

Stone house posts and rafters were seen in only one structure—a burial house situated on the top of a stone walled tomb on the island of Tongatabu. The fragments now remaining of these stone house parts are smoothly dressed and show rather elaborate end mortising (p. 38).

STONE WALLS AND MONUMENTS

Independent walls of stone are by no means common in Tonga, but are represented by several examples in fairly good condition. All these walls are built of undressed and irregularly shaped pieces of both reef limestone and "sandstone," of a size easily carried and handled.

Monumental stones form part of the retaining walls of many mounds and platforms. These are placed regularly to constitute a part of the wall and differ from those of the other wall elements only in their larger size. Usually they stand up abruptly, at or near a platform corner, to a height considerably greater than the average height of the wall.

Stelae of undressed basalt occur independent of other structures at certain places. The only one seen is in the town of Mua (p. 93), but two others are reported from the distant volcanic island of Niutoputapu. The great trilithon, Haamongaamaui (p. 63), situated in the eastern part of Tongatabu, stands out with paradoxical distinctness from all other Tongan structures, as well as from those of other Pacific islands. Not only is its shape unique, but the great size of the three dressed stones employed in the structure, and the deep mortising of the lintel piece into the uprights, render the work a surprising oddity as well as a worthy monument to Tongan ability and ingenuity in stone construction.

McKern—Tongan Archaeology

17

of curiously curved and crossed lines that certainly cannot be even the poorest of representations of English letters (fig. 5). A young Tongan, who was present at the time of my visit readily identified these figures as shorthand characters, such as are taught at the Government and Wesleyan colleges at Nukualofa. They are patently modern markings.

Professor Wragge of Auckland is reported to have identified Makahoko-
vala as a religious site connected with the sun worshipping practices
of the primitive Tongans. I have failed to find any archaeological evidence
of sun worship, and Gifford (12) reports the absence of any evidence that
sun worship was ever practiced by the Tongans. In spite of reports to the
contrary, the mound is not intentionally orientated except with reference
to the shoreline.

Makahoko-
vala shows the finest structural workmanship seen in Tongan
esi. There are more imposing structures from a standpoint of size, particu-
larly height, but in size of the stones in the retaining walls and the degree
of skill in masonry, they compare favorably with the best executed langi
platform tombs of the ancient Tongan rulers. In fact, this *esi* would be
an excellent example of a one-tier langi except for the absence of fine sand
or black pebbles, characteristic of the grave mounds. The place is actually
referred to as a tomb in one myth recorded by Gifford (13, p. 68).

The name Makahoko-
vala may possibly be derived from an original
number of eight large stones constituting the westernmost wall, only six
of which are now in place. No other arrangement of eight stones could
be found. In this connection it should be noted that eight seems to have
been a favorite number to associate with mounds. For example, Lefe-
lefevala (Eight-sexual organs, p. 30): Kafoa, eight-stones at Kafoa (p. 11); Siaha-
lavalu (Mound-of-eight-roads). However, in no one of these three structures
was the number eight descriptive of structural peculiarities. It is suggested
that the number eight, when so used, may have been a conventional term
signifying many, or a well balanced number, and had no numerical signifi-
cance.

7. Mangafakinanga, near Kolonga, Tongatabu.

The *esi* of Mangafakinanga consists of a rectangular mound with a convex upper
surface, surrounded by a low perpendicular wall of dressed coral slabs placed on edge
and end to end. It is said to have been the *esi* of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, a famous
ancient Tongan monarch generally accredited with the building of the great trilithon
(p. 63). The structure is 35 feet long, 21.5 feet wide, and is 3 feet high. The retaining
wall average 1 foot in height and 0.7 foot in thickness. Most of the stones of the south
wall have been removed in comparatively recent times. The wall stones are about
3 feet long. All stone surfaces are rather smoothly dressed and component parts
of the wall fit snugly together. Corner pierces are lapped with no apparent regard
as to which piece is outside. The westernmost wall extends in a direction N. 20° E.

Near the northeast corner of the mound and rising from the retaining wall, is a
large monumental slab which measures: length above the ground 8.3 feet, width, 5.9
feet, thickness 1.4 to 2 feet. Though leaning inward at an angle of 75° from the

172 6. Mound on the island of Euakafa, Vavau.

34 This structure is a rectangular platform of earth retained by walls of dressed, rectangular slabs of stone which are set up on edge and in contact end to end. It is 32 feet long, 28 feet wide, and about one foot high. Judging from size, proportions, and position, this mound was a house platform. This platform stands less than a quarter of a mile west of Talafaiva's langi (p. 49), on the same high platform which constitutes the entire top of the island, and some informants identified it as the house *paepae* for the residence of the chieftain Talafaiva. This is the only known rectangular platform in Tonga described as a house platform, with the possible exception of Tuavavau (No. 1). These two structures are similar in no other respect.

172 7. Mound platform on the island of Namukaeiki, Haapai.

34 The mound on Namukaeiki is a low, stone walled rectangular platform of earth retained by walls of roughly dressed stone slabs disposed on edge and in contact end to end. It is 30 feet long, 20 feet wide and 1 foot high. It was reported to be a langi, but Gifford (11) describes it as more resembling the so-called house *paepae* on Euakafa. The dimensions are certainly not those of a langi, if comparative data are of any value, but seem to be exactly suited to a house platform. On the other hand, it may be an *zzi*.

[342]
[764]

8. Lefeleva (lefelefe, sexual organ; *valu*, eight), on the island of Eua, a short distance north of the village of Tufuvai.

Lefeleva is a large conical mound made entirely of earth, with a basal diameter of 150 feet. The sides slope upwards, at an angle of about 22°, to a flat top 25 feet in diameter and 22 feet above the base. Scattered about the centrally placed large mound at distances of 100 to 200 feet and with no apparent order, are five small mounds 4 to 5 feet in height and averaging 20 feet in diameter. There are reported to be eight of these smaller mounds but only these five could be located.

172 Little is known about Lefeleva, but a myth accounts for its supernormal origin in which the goddess Lefeleva and her eight lovers are the principal actors. The myth would seem to be a rationalized explanation of the origin of a phenomenon concerning which no true information remains. The story is more than symptomatic of that associated with the mound called Tuavavau (p. 27). It seems probable that the two stories are local renditions of one of those standardized myths, so common in Polynesia, that attach themselves to any favorable site that seems in need of explanation.

172
34
173

GRAVE MOUNDS

CLASSIFICATION

172 There is a threefold native classification of primitive burial places in
764 Tonga. The mound marking the burial of an ordinary man is called *tanuanga*, that marking the burial site of a chieftain, his family and his principal retainers is called *faitoka*, and that in which members of the Tui Tonga family are buried is called *langi*. As is usual with native classifications in Tonga, these terms refer to use rather than to structural form. Thus the grave of a Tui Tonga, regardless of its shape, size, structural detail or other peculiarities, is a *langi*. As a rule, however, there were normal types of *tanuanga*, *faitoka*, and *langis*.

The *tanuanga* may be described as a small mound of earth or sand, similar in shape and size to European grave mounds. It needs no special consideration as it has no important bearing on Tongan archaeological problems. 172
764

The *faitoka* is normally a comparatively large mound of earth and sand, in shape a truncated cone with moderately sloping sides, containing from one to several buried stone vaults. The term *faitoka* includes not only the mound, which was more specifically called *foifaitoka*, but also a definite area surrounding the mound where a chieftain's important retainers and distant relatives were buried.

The *langi* is normally a rectangular platform or succession of platforms placed to constitute a stepped pyramid and supported by carefully constructed retaining walls of dressed stones. One or several stone vaults were buried under the flat top of the structure. The term *makapaipai* (*maka*, stone; *paipai*, stunted in growth), applied to *langi* stones, may imply a reducing from original size; in other words, stone dressing.

The stone vaults (*funualoto*), in both *faitoka* and *langis* are apparently of a single type. Each vault consists of six large, rectangular slabs of stone; one placed horizontally forms the bottom, four placed vertically on edge constitute the sides, and the sixth disposed horizontally forms the lid or cover. In some vaults the bottom piece was omitted.

Both *faitoka* and *langis* were, in a limited sense, family cemeteries. Each might contain many burials in one vault or in separate vaults. When several vaults were placed in one structure the area above each vault was marked by a relatively small surface mound (*fungaputu*), carefully constructed from fine, light colored sand. Such mounds were rectangular in outline, flat-topped and with sides sloping at the angle of rest of sand. Small, black, water-smoothed, volcanic pebbles of equal size, burnished with coconut oil to enhance their decorative value, were disposed solidly or in outline about the surface of the mound. These were called *kilikili*. Over each *fungaputu* a structure of usual dwelling house type (*faletofia*) was built to protect the decorative mound from the elements. The houses, save for rare traces, are now gone from the old tombs. House parts were found at only one site, *langi Heketa*, and these are of stone (p. 38). (324)
(531)

FAITOKA

Old *faitoka* were encountered near every old village and former village site observed. Their possible number has been considerably lessened by the practice of many families of using a single *faitoka* for many generations as a burial place for its ranking members. In spite of this fact, no less than eight well known *faitoka* were located in and about the small village of Maofanga, Tongatabu.

172 The mounds vary considerably in size. One called Huluipaongo (*hulu*,
 764 dry leaves; *paongo*, a vine producing the *hulu* leaf, now growing plentifully
 about the mound), is situated near the southwest point of the island of
 Lifuka, Haapai. It is 15 feet high, with a diameter of 40 feet at the top
 [175] and 110 feet at the base. This mound contains the tomb of the Matauvave
 family, and as the first Matauvave was appointed governor of Haapai by the
 Tui Tonga Kauulufonuafeikai at a date approximating 1540, was probably
 built in the sixteenth century.

An ancient *faitoka*, situated at a place called Houmakalae near the town
 of Otea, Kapa, Vavau, is 16 feet in height and 100 feet in base diameter. It
 is called Avatongo (*ava*, crevice; *tongo*, mangrove shrub), but no accurate
 information was found regarding its history.

The average *faitoka*, however, is smaller and is well represented by that
 called Kelekelemeifisi (*kelekele*, earth; *mei*, from; *fisi*, Fiji), situated on the
 southern outskirts of the town of Maofanga, Tongatabu. It has a maximum
 height of 8 feet and a base diameter of 75 feet. It is the burial place of
 [173] Lavakahaatuukau, an important chieftain who moved to Maofanga from
 Mua and there built this *faitoka*, according to tradition, exclusively from earth
 brought from Fiji.

[217] The Tongans maintain an admirable respect for their ancient dead, a
 respect which is strengthened by well kept genealogical records, by means of
 which present day inhabitants trace their descent from those buried in many
 of the ancient tombs. Archaeological excavation of *faitoka* is prohibited and
 [128] a thorough study of stone vaults (*fonualoto*) is therefore impossible. The
 one vault available for observation, though not in a *faitoka*, probably closely
 resembles it in every particular (p. 50).

172 I am indebted to Mr. Guttenbeil of Niafu, Vavau, for a description,
 764 based on first hand observation, of a *faitoka* vault. Mr. Guttenbeil witnessed
 127 the burial of a boy related to Maatu in the vault of the ancient Maatu *faitoka*
 on the island of Niuatoputapu. According to his account, confirmed by
 Maatu and other qualified informants, the vault had not been used for several
 generations and its exact whereabouts in the more recent burial ground,
 which had come to practically cover the *faitoka*, was known only by one old
 172 woman. She indicated the place to dig. The workmen dug through many
 764 more modern graves, placing the exhumed bones carefully to one side.
 Finally they came to the flat stone lid of the vault, which was 15 feet long
 and 10 feet wide. It was found to be so heavy that all attempts to remove it
 failed. Accordingly, one end was cut off to afford an opening. The narrator
 with others entered the vault. It had four perpendicular slab walls and a
 horizontally placed slab for floor. The stones were smoothly dressed. A
 skeleton lay prone, face up, in the center of the vault floor. This they
 reckoned to be the remains of the Maatu who built the tomb. Around the

central figure on every side were numerous skeletal remains so disposed as to imply that the individuals represented had been placed sitting about the walls, facing the center. These were reckoned to have comprised the "companions," those who were elected to accompany the dead chieftain, as servants, to the world of the dead. There was about 1 foot of fine, dark colored dust covering the floor, the probable remains of material goods, such as fine mats and tapas, buried with the dead out of respect to his wealth and station.

Mariner (16, vol. 1, p. 144) gives the measurements of a vault observed in Haapai as 8 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 8 feet deep.

LANGIS

DISTRIBUTION AND GENERAL FEATURES

Native traditions and records name 45 langis, 37 are on Tongatabu, 6 in the Haapai group and but 2 in Vavau. Of the langis on Tongatabu, 28 are in or near the town of Mua, the modern survival of Lapaha, the ancient capital of the Tui Tonga dynasty.

All the 45 langis referred to by combined sources of information were actually examined, although specific identification of some is doubtful, and for a few of them was not attempted.

In structural type, langis do not adhere to a uniform technique warranting group classification. Some langis are not to be distinguished, structurally, from *faitoka*; others are composed of from one to five rectangular platforms, each retained by perpendicular stone walls. Where a plurality of platforms occurs, the smaller are mounted upon the larger in regular succession, according to corresponding differences in lateral dimensions, to form stepped pyramidal structures. Many of these are of imposing size. One or more stone vaults, entered from the flat top of the structure, are present in most langis, but there are exceptions to this rule (pp. 55, 114).

The one attribute which all langis share, the one factor which serves to group them, is use; they are invariably the tombs of important members of the Tui Tonga "family," which includes not only the immediate family of the reigning king but also the family of the Tamaha, of the Tui Tonga Fefine and of certain closely related chiefly families such as that of the Tui Haatakalaui. However, in langi burials there was no confusion or uncertainty as to rank.

All stones in the retaining walls and also in vaults, judging from reports and from the single vault examined, are rectangularly dressed and fashioned of coral "sandstone" or reef limestone. Of the two materials, "sandstone" by far predominates.

Both Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 312-314) and Forster (9, vol. 1, pp. 451-452) observed and to a certain extent described some of the langis at Mua, Tonga.

172 tabu, although they mistook these structures for variations of the *faitoka*
 175 which they had seen elsewhere. Both describe the *faletolia* as intact and
 764 apparently kept in good condition on the langi tops, and speak of wooden
 [114] images or representations of men which were seen on one of the langis.
 D'Urville (5, vol. 4, pp. 279-280) also mentions something of the kind.
 Cook describes the images in the following words:

One of the houses, situated over a grave mound on a langi, contrary to what we had seen before, was open on one side; and within it were two rude, wooden busts of men; one near the entrance, and the other farther in. On enquiring of the natives, who had followed us to the ground, but durst not enter here, what these images were intended for? they made us as sensible as we could wish, that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there, and not the representations of any deity. Such monuments, it should seem, are seldom raised; for these had, probably, been erected several years ago. We were told that the dead had been buried in each of these houses; . . .

If the example mentioned by Cook is not unique, this practice of erecting wooden or other effigies over the langi or *faitoka* was at least a most unusual one.

172 To ascertain to what degree, if any, the langis are oriented with reference
 764 to any recognized standard, the trends of the walls of thirty rectangular
 [126] langis were recorded. According to compass measurements, the direction of
 the northwest walls and that of the approximately parallel southeast walls
 vary from N. 9° E. to N. 40° E. One wall of Otafava trends N. 74° E.
 The trend of the northeast and the southwest is likewise highly variable—N.
 50° W. to N. 82° W. Thus the variability exceeds 30° out of a possible
 45°. Furthermore, little attention seems to have been given to corners; in
 the 30 langis measured, the corner angle varies from 82° to 99°. These figures
 make it obvious that the alignment of the langis is out of accord with any
 standard system of orientation.

There is no possibility of doubt as to the origin and purpose of *faitoka* and langis. They are the burial places of Tongan chieftains who governed the ancestors of the present native inhabitants from a remote prehistoric period into historic times. Some of the *faitoka* are still in use. The workmanship involved is not such as to suggest any foreign or lost art, but rather, logically conforms to the primitive methods and tools which the Tongans are known to have had, and generally harmonizes with the state of primitive Tongan culture.

STRUCTURAL TYPES

172 To simplify presentation, it seems advisable to treat the various langis as
 764 constituting six distinct structural types (fig. 17). Although there are many
 128

variations from the type forms, none are so radical as to render the classification void of definite meaning and usefulness.

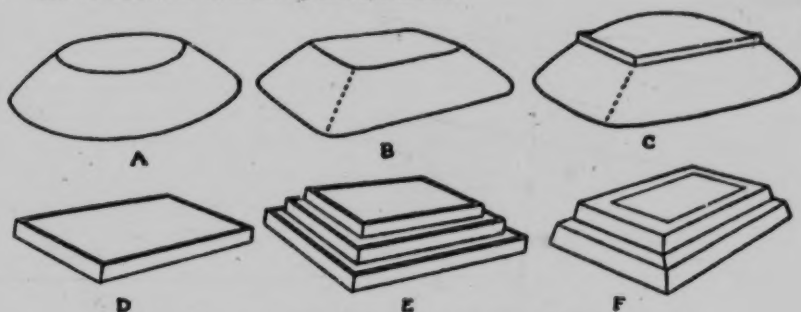


FIGURE 17.—Sketch illustrating six types of langis.

Type A. A conical mound of earth, symmetrically proportioned, with sides sloping gradually toward a slightly convex top.

Type B. A truncated, rectangular pyramid of earth and sand with corners necessarily rounded because of the building materials used. In one langi (Makamaka) the horizontal outline of the structure is shaped like a D, rather than like a rectangular parallelogram. The sides slope at an angle approximating the angle of rest to a smooth, flat top. A surrounding ditch may or may not be present.

Type C. A mound of earth, rectangular in base cross section, with sides sloping upward to a somewhat conical top. Intermediately between the base and the top of the mound is a low, perpendicular, rectangularly disposed wall of upright, dressed slabs of stone. These stones are of equal height and thickness and are closely joined end to end to effect a very smooth lineation.

Type D. A rectangular platform of earth, low and flat, supported on all sides by a continuous, perpendicularly disposed retaining wall of well matched and closely fitted dressed stones. These stones are invariably slabs placed on edge.

Type E. A stepped pyramid composed of two to five Type D platforms of regularly diminishing size placed the smaller upon the larger. Intervals between the base of the surmounting platform and the top of the foundation platform are uniform on all four sides, and where more than two steps are present, the depth of succeeding steps remains approximately constant.

Type F. Represented by a single langi, is like Type E, save that the stone retaining walls enclosing the various platforms, excepting the top platform, are sufficiently wide to include the entire width of the step, thus effect-

172
764
128

172 ing a lateral surface of unbroken stone, rather than one marked by vertical
764 walls of stone and horizontal surfaces of earth.
128

DESCRIPTION OF LANGIS

The following list includes the Tongan langis identified by name and four langis (Nos. 42-45) for which informants had no name. The list also includes four names, Koolonamu, Tamatiu, Tongamanatu, and Tauhakeleve, which could not be definitely associated with structures. The coincidence of four unnamed langis and four unclaimed langi names, applying to the specific Lapaha group of Tongatabu, is, to say the least, most agreeably surprising. Numerical discrepancies might be expected especially as some langis seem to have more than one name, and this very fact of multiple nomenclature influences me to accept the coincidence in question as of doubtful implication. Certainly, it does not necessarily follow that the four unattached names apply to the four nameless langis.

1. Atea, on the south side of the lagoon on the island of Nomuka, Haapai. Type D.

The measurements of Atea were, unfortunately, lost but the following figures are approximately correct: the sides average 50 feet in length; the retaining wall is less than 1 foot in apparent height and about 0.7 foot in thickness; the stones constituting the wall average 3 feet in length. The vault is concealed and no surface indications of burial are apparent.

Atea derives its name from Ate, a wife of one of the Tui Tonga residing on Namuka, for whom the tomb is said to have been built. Tradition, however, says that she is not buried there but in the *faioka* Takahilipakisi at Maofanga, Tongatabu.

2. Faapite, at Mua, Tongatabu, Type E (fig. 18).

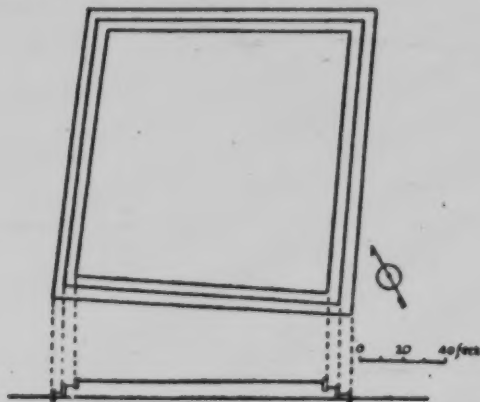


FIGURE 18.—Plan of langi Faapite at Mua, Tongatabu, height 6.5 feet, northeast base 133.5 feet, southeast base 141 feet, height of steps—bottom 3 feet, second 2.5 feet, top 2.7 feet.

In one account this langi is called Fooou (New), but according to data in the hands of Prince Tungī, Fooou has only two terraces. There may be two langis bearing the name Fooou. 172 764

Faapite is a three-terraced structure. The stones used in the retaining walls supporting each of the three earth platforms are 6 to 10 feet long and 0.8 foot to 2.5 feet thick. All visible stone parts are either of coral "sandstone" or of reef limestone. The surfaces are comparatively smooth, the squared corners clean-cut. Stones are in contact end to end with a smooth nicety, where they have not been displaced through natural agencies. Terrace wall corners are formed by overlapping without any apparent plan.

Faapite is said to be the burial place of one named Sanualio, but there is no external evidence of vaults. A monumental *matahunu* (volcanic) stone, bearing the name Pau, reported as occurring in the walls, could not be located.

3. Faletoonga (House-of-rites), east of Mua, Tongatabu, to the left of the road from Mua to Hoi, Type A.

Faletoonga, also called Tuitonga, is broadly oval in shape, its longest dimension extending east and west. It is 5 feet high, with a flat top 60 feet long and 45 feet wide. The base stands about 12 feet outward from the margin of the top surface, giving the sides of the mound a slope of about 25°. There is no apparent difference between the earth employed in the mound and that of the surrounding land. No record of burials was found.

4. Fangaloto (Deep-anchorage), at the town of Lufe, near Navai, Tongatabu, Type A.

As the property on which the langi stands bears the name Fangaloto, it seems probable that the mound borrowed this name in comparatively recent times, locally it is called Uhisao. This approximately circular langi is 65 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height.

According to a story told by the inhabitants of Navai, the mutilated body of the murdered Tui Tonga Puipui was washed ashore at Fangaloto. A matapule named Lufe found the headless corpse, and conceiving it below the dignity of the king to be buried without a head, had his own head removed and buried with the torso of the Tui Tonga. 172 764 643 173

5. Folokamanu at Mataliku, not far from Pea, Tongatabu, Type A. 172

Folokamanu is a roughly circular structure with a comparatively flat top. Its maximum height is 7.5 feet; its top diameter, 30 feet; its bottom diameter, 90 feet. The surface of the mound is formed of earth similar in color and texture to that of the surrounding soil. The mound interior, however, consists of alternating spots of earth and fine white sand impregnated with small shells. 764

A daughter of some forgotten Tui Tonga is said to have been buried here. Her name is reported as Fatafehi (*fata*, house loft; *fehi*, hardwood tree, *Azizia bijuga*). a favorite name for women in the Tui Tonga family. Excavation discovered the skeletal remains of several individuals (p. 114). (644) (173)

172
764 6. Heketa (To-move-on-the-buttocks-and-strike) in the Hahake district, Tongatabu, near the Haamongaamaui (fig. 19).

This langi consists of two overlapping platforms: *a*, a type D structure, *b*, a type E structure with three tiers. The retaining wall of the middle tier is inset 3.7 to 3.8 feet from the outer edge of the first tier, and is separated from the third tier by an interval

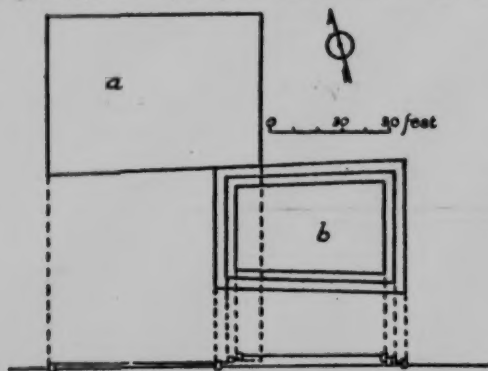


FIGURE 19.—Plan of langi Heketa, Hahake district, Tongatabu: *a*, platform 109 feet long, 65 feet wide; *b*, platform 3 feet high, height of retaining walls—bottom tier 1.7 feet, second tier 0.7 foot, top tier 1.3 feet.

of 3.9 to 4 feet. The retaining walls of platform *a* and of the bottom tier of platform *b* are of the same height where in contact, but vary elsewhere as much as 1.7 feet. The dressed coral "sandstone" blocks comprising the retaining walls are 3 to 6 feet in length and 0.5 foot to 0.7 foot in thickness. Their surfaces are smooth, the squared edges regular and sharp-cut and the stones meet end to end with tightly fitting exactness. The wall corners are formed by one corner stone overlapping the end of the other.

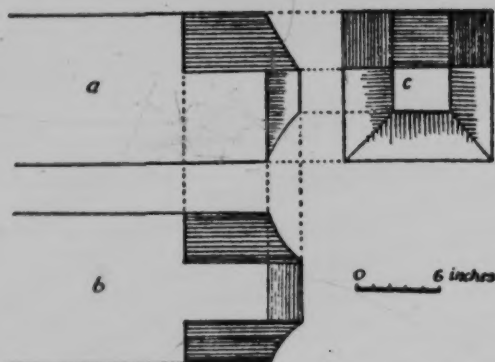


FIGURE 20.—Diagram showing end of stone house beam at langi Heketa: *a*, side view; *b*, top view; *c*, end view.

There has been a house on the top of platform *b* which is consistently reported to have been supported originally by four posts of squared stone, connected by stringers which were also of dressed stone. The single sizable element remaining is a piece of coral "sandstone," 4 feet long, 0.8 foot wide and 0.7 foot thick, which appears to have been a stringer or rafter. Its special interest is due to the fact that it retains one unbroken end which is elaborately shaped, apparently for the purpose of being mortised (fig. 20). All surfaces are carefully dressed and all angles sharply defined. This stone-posted and raftered house is said to have been called *falepoumaka* (house-of-stone-posts)—probably a recent descriptive term. The house is said to have faced south and its use is supposed to have corresponded with that of similarly placed houses (p. 31).

Platform *b* is said to be the *langi* proper, containing the burial vault or vaults. Platform *a* is described as the site for the house of a *matapule* assigned to act as guardian and caretaker of the *langi*.

Fatafehi, the daughter of Tui Tonga Tuitatui, the first female member of the family to bear that name, is said to be buried in Heketa. According to one report Tuitatui also is buried here. No surface indications of vaults are visible.

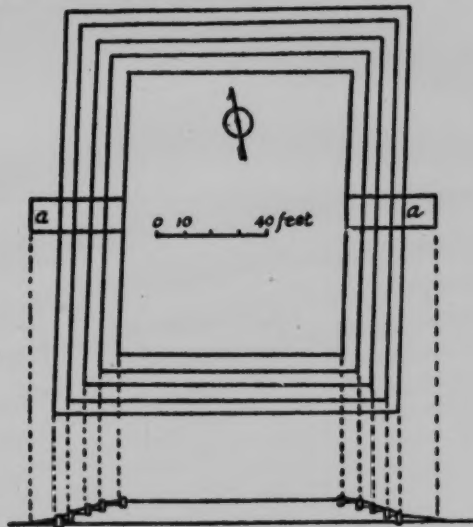


FIGURE 21.—Plan of *langi* Katoka at Mua, Tongatabu, height 7 feet, length of east base 140.4 feet, length of south base 120 feet, retaining walls—bottom 2.2 feet high; second 2.8 feet high, inset 5 feet; third 0.8 foot high, inset 5.7 feet; fourth 1 foot high, inset 5 feet; fifth 1.9-2 feet high, inset 5.9 feet: *a*, approaches.

7. Katoka (The-whole) in Mua, Tongatabu, Type E (fig. 21).

Katoka consists of five tiers, each of which is very low as compared with the other dimensions. The dressed stones of which the vertical sides of the tiers are fashioned are 4 to 14 feet in length and average 1 foot in thickness. The largest of these, situated on the western side is 14 feet long, 2 feet thick, and stands 5.95 feet above ground. Such monumental stones, present in the western walls of many *langis*, are

172

764

called *halahala* (*hala*-demise, applied to the Tui Tonga and Tamaha; a road or path; a doorway or entrance; a sacred club). The surface of these stones are fairly smooth and adjoining sides meet in sharply defined angles. In the retaining walls on all four sides of the langi are selected stones bearing incised decorative designs (p. 79).

In the center of the east and west sides of the structure and exactly opposite each other are two approaches, not unlike stairways in which the steps of the pyramid constitute the steps of the stair, extending from the ground level to the top of the langi. Each stairway consists of parallel stone walls, about 12 feet apart, cutting the tiers of the langi at right angles to constitute retaining walls for the ascending approach. The upper surfaces of the walls maintain the angle established by the general slope of the pyramid. The stepped area between those balustrades was originally [491] filled to form a smooth slanting roadway, roughly paved with flat slabs of stone of assorted sizes and shapes. Some of this pavement is still in place (Pl. II, A). No record was found of burials.

8. Koolonamu is said to be the name of one of the langis of Mua, Tongatabu, but no one seems able to identify it or to contribute additional information.

9. Leka (called also Lekamakatuioha, a name referring to one of its monumental stones) in Mua, Tongatabu, Type E (fig. 22).

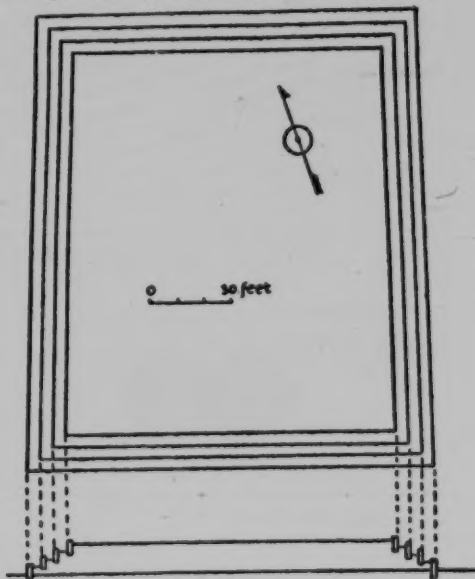


FIGURE 22.—Plan of langi Leka at Mua, Tongatabu, length of base 166 feet, width of base 140 feet, height 12 feet, height of retaining walls—bottom 3.7 feet, second 3.4 feet, third 3.2 feet, top 3.3 feet, width of steps 4.75 feet, 3.8 feet, and 3.75 feet.

Leka consists of four tiers, with corresponding retaining walls. The average thickness of retaining walls is 0.9 foot, 1.4 feet, 0.9 foot, 1.3 feet, with a maximum

of 2.1 feet and minimum of 0.7 foot. All the stones in the walls are comparatively large. Some exceptionally large stones rise above the general level of the wall. A stone in the top tier wall near the southwest corner is 4.8 feet high, 1.3 feet wide and 23.8 feet long; one in the bottom tier on the south side is 3.7 feet high, 1.7 feet thick, and 24.7 feet long; and one in the second tier at the northeast corner is 3.9 feet high, 1.5 feet thick and 12.2 feet long. One of these *halakala* stones, it could not be determined which, is called *Tuituioha*. If the others originally had names they are now forgotten. All stones are exceptionally well surfaced and smoothly joined end to end. The corner stones overlap without regard to order (Pl. III, A). A basal flange 0.3 foot to 0.5 foot in width on the walls of the bottom tier at the level of the ground indicates that the stones were dressed after having been permanently placed in the wall.

Leka is said to have been built by *Tulunga*. No information regarding burials was obtained.

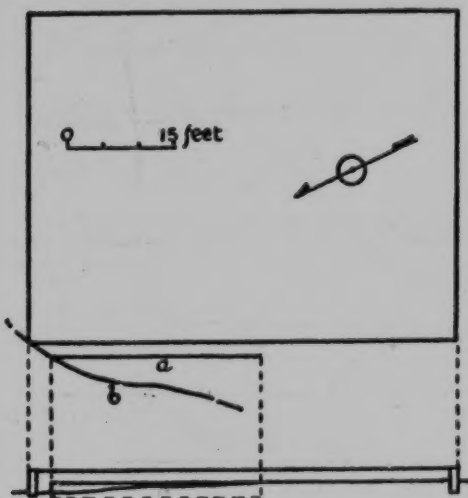


FIGURE 23

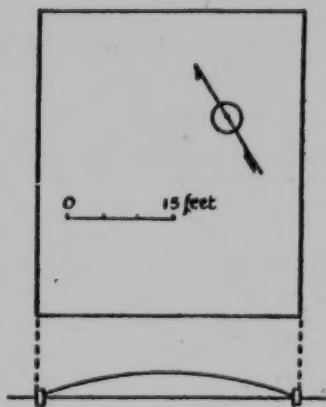


FIGURE 24

FIGURE 23.—Plan of langi Langalangafehi at Mua, Tongatabu, length of west wall 60.5 feet, length of south wall 46 feet, height of retaining wall 1.5 feet (at the northwest corner 2.6 feet): a, lower terrace wall; b, ancient shore line.

FIGURE 24.—Plan of langi Loamanu I at Longoteme, Tongatabu, length 42 feet, width 36 feet, height to crest of mound 3.5 feet.

10. Langalangafehi (To-start-opening-oysters), on the northern outskirts of Mua, Tongatabu, and immediately beyond langi Lili, Type E (fig. 23).

Langalangafehi has a somewhat peculiar shape. It juts out over a natural embankment which follows an ancient shoreline, extending in a northeast-southwest direction. The eastern side of the langi has but a single tier, like a Type D structure.

172 The western side, however, has a short additional outside tier, a foundation to the
764 upper tier which is required by the abrupt downward dip of the land surface.

The walls are from 0.8 foot to 1 foot thick and consist of smoothly joined, carefully surfaced, stones 2 to 4 feet long. At each corner stones are lapped one over the other without regard to a uniform arrangement. The wall stones show a basal flange 0.25 foot to 0.35 foot in width and so irregular in outer outline as to suggest that the stones had been finally dressed after having been placed in the walls. There is no surface indications of a vault and no information was found regarding burials here.

11. Lili, on the *api* Siliva, east of the principal group of langis at Mua, Tongatabu, Type B.

The flat top of Lili standing 4.5 feet above the surrounding land, is 112 feet long and 83 feet wide. From its top the sides of the mound slope outward at an angle of about 20°. The earth constituting the surface of the mound is like that of the adjoining land. A person by the name of Alusa is said to be buried here but no surface evidence of a vault was apparent.

12. Loamanu I, at Longoteme, Tongatabu, Type D, but with a rounded top as that of Type C (fig. 24).

The retaining wall of Loamanu I is composed of upright stones 0.6 feet to 1 foot in height, 0.2 foot to 0.8 foot in thickness, and 2 to 3 feet in length. One stone in the northwest wall, near the southwest corner, has an apparent height of 1.2 feet and is 0.7 foot thick and 4.8 feet long. The crest of the rounded top of the mound stands 3.5 feet above the average level of the surrounding land. The stones are smoothly dressed and adjacent surfaces meet in sharply defined edges and corners. They meet each other end to end with an admirable exactness. Corners are formed by one stone overlapping the end of the other, in the usual manner. A Tui Tonga Fefine, whose name is now forgotten, is said to be buried here but there is no surface evidence of a vault.

13. Loamanu II, on the island of Tungua, Haapai.

Loamanu II was not seen, but according to dependable reports, it is a Type D structure situated directly south of the langi Siapua (p. 54) and favoring Siapua in general size and structural technique. It is reputed to be the burial place of an important chief of the Tuihaatakalaua family whose name is now forgotten.

14. Loamanu III. (See Tui Haatakalaua group, p. 58).

15. Makamaka (Stony) between Fuamotu and the *api* Haavaka, Tongatabu (fig. 25).

In most respects Makamaka is a Type B structure but has many special features (fig. 25, a). It has a D-shaped outline, and is entirely surrounded by a ditch, or moat, its sloping walls converging toward a narrow bottom. On the south and west sides a platform stands between the base of the mound and the inner edge of the moat. On the north and east sides the sloping surface of the mound continues unbroken to the bottom of the moat. The moat is bridged on the south and northeast sides by earthen fills.

Makamaka is but the largest of a group of five mounds. Three of these (fig. 25, b, c, d) are truncated cones, in shape like the Type A langi. They form a straight row extending directly south of the southernmost of the two bridge ways of Makamaka. Northeast of the Makamaka langi proper, in line with the direction of the northeastern bridge way, is a roughly rectangular mound surrounded on three sides by a moat

(fig. 25, e). This mound has a fairly level central top, of indefinite area, from which its sides slope gradually to the moat bottom or to the ground level. A bridge way crosses the moat on the southwest side to form a gently sloping ascent to the mound top. Loose fragments of coral "sandstone" are strewn about the edges and the surface of

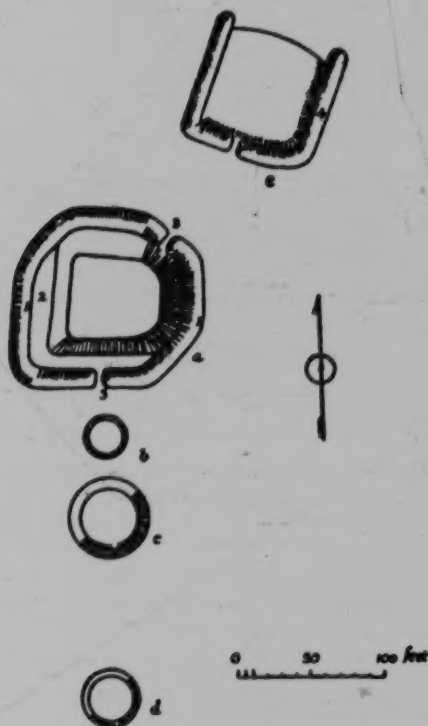


FIGURE 25.—Sketch of langi Makamaka and adjoining mounds: a, Makamaka, height 4.5 feet, base 89 by 83 feet, top 62 by 56 feet, slope of sides 20° to 22° ; b, mound, 41 feet in diameter, 2.5 feet high; c, mound, 55 feet in diameter, 5.5 feet high; d, mound, 29 feet in diameter, 1 foot high; e, mound, 3.5 feet high, 70 feet long, 66 to 68 feet wide—1, moat, 14 feet wide, 3 to 4 feet deep; 2, platform, 9 to 12 feet wide; 3, earth fills, across moats 6 feet wide; 4, moat, 11 feet wide, 3 to 6 feet deep.

mound b. The largest fragments measure 3 feet by 2.5 feet by 0.3 foot. This apparent refuse from stone dressing tends to support the prevailing opinion that there are stone vaults in these mounds.

It is said that a pregnant Tui Tonga Fefine, name unknown, is buried here and that because of this woman's pregnancy, a man named Moulamufuaamotu, who was chief of Fuamotu at that time, acquired the new name Tofamealo.

172
764

173
644

172
764
16. Matamoana (Facing-the-sea) called also langi Talangaholova, between Tufamahina and the *api* Talangaholova, Tongatabu, Type A.

Matamoana has no distinctly outlined top but gradually descends on all sides from a gently convex center to the level of the surrounding land. Its maximum elevation is 11 feet and its diameter 40 feet.

Tradition says that a girl and a boy, brother and sister, whose names and exact lineage are forgotten, are buried here, but aside from small fragments of coral sandstone, which are scattered about the mound base, there is no surface indication of the vault.

17. Maluatonga (Cringing-Tonga) or Matuatonga (Ancient-Tonga), in Mua, Tongatapu, Type D.

The southwest retaining wall of Maluatonga is 84 feet long; the southeast wall, 87 feet. The continuous top surface of the wall averages 1.9 feet in height above the surrounding land level; the dressed stones comprising the retaining wall are 0.6 foot to 0.8 foot in width and average 3.5 feet in length. The wall includes three monumental stones. Of two at the southwest corner one said to bear the name Vaia, measures 7.8 feet by 4.6 feet, by 0.8 foot to 1 foot. The other said to be named Tuituiohu, after a Tuihaangata chieftain, measures 8.4 by 4.8 feet by 1 foot. These two corner stones overlap at their ends and are mortised into each other for a depth of 0.1 foot. The

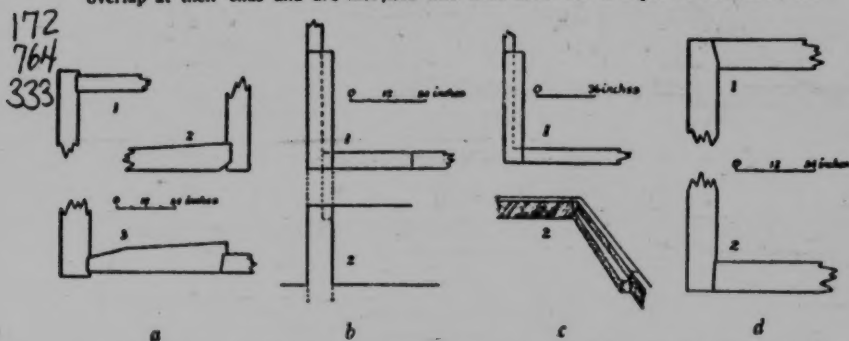


FIGURE 26.—Details of stone work in langis: a, mortising of corner stones in langi Maluatonga—1, northwest corner; 2, southeast corner; 3, southwest corner—; b, southwest corner langi Olovehi—1, flat plan; 2, vertical plan—; c, corners in platform b, langi Nukulau—1, plan; 2, perspective—; d, corners in platform a, langi Nukulau —1, northwest corner; 2, southeast corner; 3, southwest corner.

172
764
third large stone in the northwest corner monument has fallen from its original upright position. It is 6.5 feet long, 4 feet wide and 0.7 foot thick. Apparently its foot was buried about 0.9 foot in the ground. The mound material originally contained within the retaining walls has largely escaped through wash and seepage, giving the wall where intact the appearance of an enclosure. There is no indication of a vault.

[333] The skill in masonry exhibited in Maluatonga is relatively high. Not only are the stones exceptionally smooth and sharply outlined in all inter-surface angles, but three of the four lapped corners, those to the northwest, southwest and southeast, are fashioned to have the lapped stone mortised into the overlapping one (fig. 26, a).

McKern—Tongan Archaeology

45

This langi is said to have been built for the son of a Tui Tonga not named, and a woman of Uvea. On account of the Uvean blood in the prince, the langi is regarded as "common," not to be respected. Thus a man of low social standing will say: "When hungry, I eat on Maluatonga."

18. Mounga (Mountain) immediately south of langi Siapua (p. 54), island of Tungva, Haapai, Type D.

The westernmost retaining wall of Mounga is 60 long; the northernmost, 55 feet. The wall stones average 2 feet in apparent height, 3 feet in length and 0.7 foot in thickness. The middle section of the southernmost wall is marked by two monumental stones, each 2 feet wide, 0.7 foot thick, and 4.5 feet high. They are separated by a stone of average height and length.

An interesting feature of Mounga is a platform approach, centrally placed, adjoining the westernmost wall. It consists of low retaining walls of stone enclosing a gravel platform 10 feet in length, at right angles to the adjoining wall, 8 feet in width, and raised 0.3 foot above the surrounding level.

The stone dressing throughout the structure is good, excellent in places. Stones in the wall are joined end to end with exact nicety and the corner stones are lapped one across the end of the other. At the northwest corner, stones are mortised into each other to a depth of 0.2 foot. A Tamaha named Mounga is said to be buried here.

19. Moungalafa (Flat-mountain) or Moungalofa (Love-mountain), north of Mua near Afa, Tongatabu, Type D (fig. 27, a).

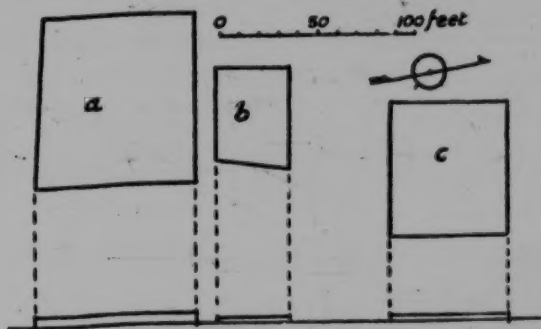


FIGURE 27.—Plan of langi Moungalafa and adjoining platforms near Mua, Tongatabu: a, Moungalafa, 90 feet long, 79.5 feet wide, 3.5 to 5.5 feet high; b, 48 feet long, 39 feet wide, 1 to 1.5 feet high; c, 69 feet long, 1 to 1.5 feet high.

Moungalafa is the largest of a group of three platforms. For the remaining two (fig. 27, b, c), which are said to "belong" to Moungalafa, no names were obtained.

The retaining walls vary in apparent height according to the configuration of the surrounding land, but the top of the wall is level and slightly higher than the enclosed platform. All the stones comprising the walls are of unusually large size, averaging more than 6 feet in length and 1 foot to 1.8 feet in thickness, a large stone at the south-east corner is 4.4 feet in apparent height, 1.8 feet thick, and 17.5 feet long. Another at the southwest corner has an apparent height of 5.1 feet, a thickness of 1 foot, and a length of 16.5 feet. Many other stones are nearly as large. The surfaces of these

172 stones are smoothly dressed and the angles formed by adjoining faces are sharply defined. The stones meet end to end with a neat precision, and the corners are formed by overlapping in the usual manner. Uhatafi was of the opinion that the Tui Tonga Tuitatui is buried here rather than in the langi Heketa. In the platform illustrated in figure 27, *b*, the dressed stones comprising the retaining walls average 0.8 foot in thickness, and are from 2 to 3 feet long. Those of the platform shown in figure 27, *c*, average 0.8 foot in thickness and are from 3 to 8 feet in length. The workmanship of both *b* and *c* is like that of the main platform. No record of burial was obtained.

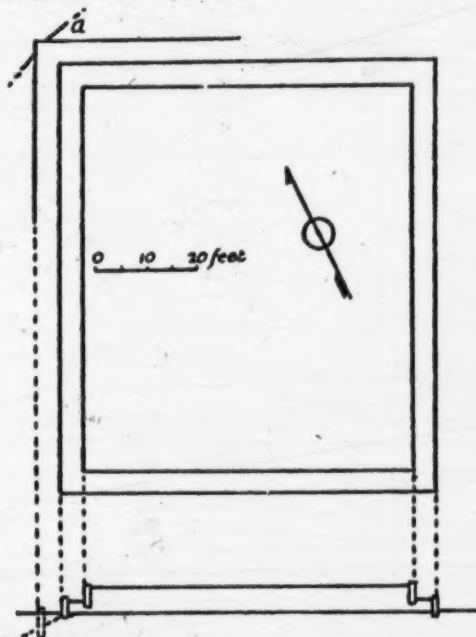


FIGURE 28.—Plan of Nakulukilangi near Mua, Tongatabu, height 5 feet, length of eastern wall 83 feet, length of southern wall 73 feet, bottom step 3 feet high, 4.5 feet wide, second step 2.5 feet high, 4.6 feet wide: *a*, ancient shore line.

20. Nakulukilangi, north of Mua, Tongatabu, near Langalangafehi (p. 41), Type E (fig. 28).

Nakulukilangi consists of two tiers; save in the northwest corner where the structure protrudes over the edge of the steeply sloping, ancient shoreline.

Here a bottom tier beginning with a height of 2 feet gradually decreases with the rising contour of the land until its walls entirely disappear. The stones comprising the retaining walls average 6 feet in length and 0.8 foot in thickness. An exceptionally large stone on the northwest corner of the bottom tier, on the north side, is 16.5 feet long and 0.9 foot thick. The dressed surfaces are comparatively smooth, the angles between surfaces sharply defined. The cornerstones overlap without regard to uniformity.

This langi is said to be the burial place of the Tuilakepa family. It was opened within the memory of living inhabitants, when the large stone vault was found to contain the skeletal remains of a child, a wooden pillow (*kali*) and an ornament of whale tooth (*lei*).

21. Namoala in Mua, Tongatabu, directly west of Paepaeotelea (No. 26), Type E (fig. 29).

Namoala consists of three tiers with a combined height of 6 feet. The retaining walls are 0.5 foot to 1.7 feet thick. The stones vary greatly in size. Some are not more than 4 feet long but a large stone in the bottom tier on the south side, is 11.4 feet long, 2.2 feet in apparent height and 0.8 foot thick, and a stone in the second tier is 14.5 feet long, 2 feet high and 0.4 foot thick. An approach to the langi consists of a flat paved area on the ground and pavements on the succeeding tiers. The ground pavement is a single squared and dressed slab of stone 7 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, placed lengthwise against the retaining wall (fig. 29, a). The pavement on the first tier consists of irregular stone slabs and fragments, the largest is 3 feet long and 2 feet wide. The pavement on the second tier is formed of more or less scattered stone fragments. The lid of a vault visible on the top of the platform is a squared slab of stone, its sides in alignment with the directions of adjacent retaining walls (fig. 29, b). All stone parts of the langi proper are neatly dressed and disposed to match adjoining stones with nice precision, the corner stones overlapping in the usual manner. This structure is said to be the burial place of Tuihaateiho. It is also reported to contain the remains of a woman by the name of Finau.

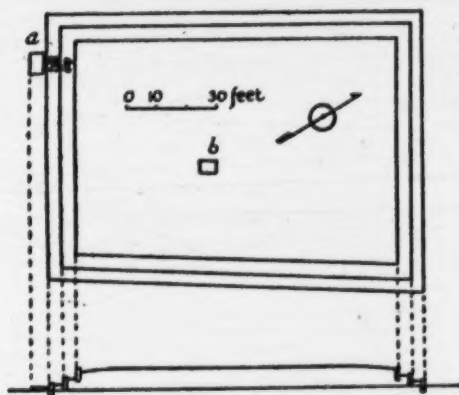


FIGURE 29.—Plan of langi Namoala at Mua, Tongatabu, height 6 feet, length eastern wall 122.5 feet, length of southern wall 86 feet, bottom step 1.6 to 2.3 feet high, second step 2.2 feet high, 4.3 feet wide: a, stone slab 7 feet long, 5 feet wide, 1 foot thick; b, lid of vault 5.8 feet long, 4.3 feet wide, 0.8 to 0.9 foot thick.

22. Nukulau in Mua, Tongatabu, Type D.

At Nukulau are two langis, disposed side by side. As I was unable to determine which is Nukulau, they are here described as A and B.

172

764

Langi A measures 53 feet on its east wall and 50 feet along its south wall. The walls are 0.7 foot to 0.8 foot in apparent height and average 0.8 foot in thickness. From the retaining walls the surface of the body of the mound rises gradually to attain a central height of 2.5 feet above the surrounding level. The corners on the eastern side are lapped in a manner typical of the corners of Tongan langis. The western corners are also lapped, but have interesting peculiarities shown in figure 26, d. The stones used in this structure are very small, but show no lack of careful dressing and matching.

Langi B measures 55 feet in length and 42 feet in width, and has an average height of 1.7 feet. The stones in the walls are 3 to 7 feet in length and 0.6 foot to 0.8 foot in thickness, with the exception of a stone at the southwest corner which is 1 foot thick. The top of this stone is so dressed that it has an apparent thickness of but 0.5 foot on the west side and 0.7 foot on the south side, where it creates the false impression of turning the corner without a break (fig. 26, c). All the corners are formed in the usual manner, one overlapping the end of the other.

The stones, though small, are very smoothly dressed and meet each other end to end with exceptional exactness. On the northeast cornerstone is a petroglyph, partly effaced (p. 79). No surface evidence of vaults is apparent and no record of burials was obtained for either langi A or B.

23. Olomalooa in Mua, Tongatabu, a short distance north of langi Namooala, Type D.

Olomalooa measures 81 feet along its western side, 60 feet along the northern, and averages 2.5 feet in height. The retaining walls are 0.7 foot to 0.9 foot in thickness and the stones comprising it average less than 4 feet in length. A large monumental stone, situated on the southwest corner, is 7.5 feet long, 3.3 feet in apparent height and 0.8 foot thick. The corners are formed by overlapping in the usual manner. All surfacing and matching of stones in the walls is of average merit. There is no surface evidence of a vault, and no record of burials.

24. Olovehi (To-allure-gladly), also called Olovehi Fakasia and Siavakapuna, in the district of Hihifo on the island of Lifuka, Haapai, Type E (fig. 30).

Olovehi is a two-tiered structure. The retaining wall of the bottom tier is 0.4 foot to 0.7 foot thick; the top tier, 0.4 foot to 0.6 foot thick. The stones in the bottom tier average 2.5 feet in length; those in the upper tier 2 feet. A relatively large monumental stone, at the southwest corner of the upper tier, is 4.5 feet in apparent height, 3.1 feet long and 0.5 foot thick. Stone surfaces and interfacial angles are respectively smooth and sharply defined. The joining of stone to stone is marked by smooth contact and continuity of line and surface planes. The corners are formed by one cornerstone overlapping the end of that opposing it, but a stone at the southwest corner of the bottom tier is so dressed, by being partly cut away on the inner side of the top surface, as to give the false impression that the stone turns the corner without a break (fig. 26, b).

A stone walled approach ascends the westernmost side of the langi. Two parallel retaining walls gradually rise from ground level to points near the top of the upper tier. The space between these walls is filled with earth and this inclined surface is paved with four large, roughly rectangular, stone slabs (Pl. II, B).

This langi is known to be the burial place of the family of Tuita. In this connection, Miss Shirley Baker of Pangai, Lifuka, is quoted as follows: "One of the vaults of this langi was opened for the interment of the late Tuita. In shape, the vault was longer at the base, which was about eight feet, than at the top, where it

was only five feet in length, the two ends slanting inwards. The depth was four feet or more. The walls were about 1 foot thick. The stone slab serving as a cover was some two feet thick and seven feet square, overlapping the edges of the vault's opening. All of the stone slabs were of a yellowish coral smoothly surfaced and edged. The body was wrapped in *ngatu* (tapa) and fine mats. It was lowered feet foremost on account of the narrow opening. The covering slab was moved by ropes passed round its edges, and pulled by men who stood at the foot of the *langi*, since no one could stand on the terraces but the *hastufunga* (burial director). 172 764 762

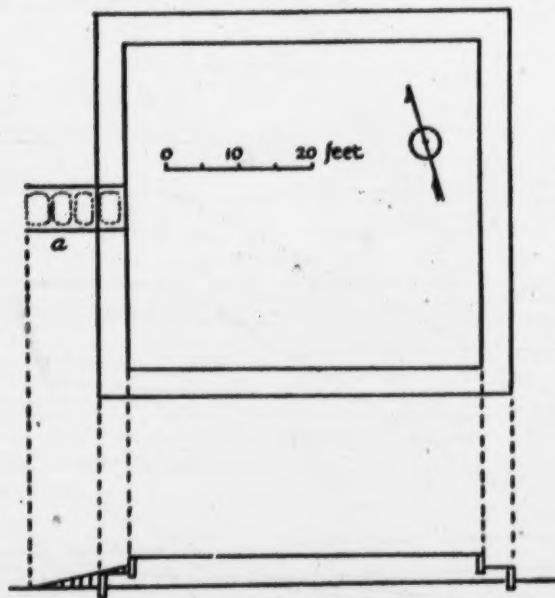


FIGURE 30.—Plan of langi Olovehi, Lifuka Island, length of northern wall 56 feet, length of western wall 51.5 feet, height 3.5 feet, wall of bottom tier 2 feet high, 0.4 to 0.7 foot thick; wall of top tier 1.5 feet high, 0.4 to 0.6 foot thick; a, approach with retaining walls 14.5 feet long and 5.5 feet apart.

The following are known to have been entered in the vault: (1) Nanasi Pau, Tui Tonga Fefine; (2) Manumatoongo, father of Losaline Fatafehi; (3) Makahokovalu, the late Tuita's father; (4) the late Tuita. A great number of bones, found outside the vault, were called *fakafoao*."

The vault described is said to be near the westernmost upper wall of the langi, at the top of the inclined approach.

25. Otalafaiva on the island of Euakafa, Vavau, Type D (fig. 31).

The stones of the retaining walls surrounding the flat-topped platform of Otalafaiva are of average size in proportion to the height of the wall.

172

764

A vault (fig. 31, a) 29 feet from the southeast corner of the platform, has a large section broken from the lid, which allowed a careful survey of its entire construction. A large horizontal slab of stone, of unknown dimensions, constitutes the floor. Four squared slabs, 0.3 foot to 0.9 foot in thickness, resting vertically upon the floor piece, form the walls. The resulting chamber is 10 feet long, 3.2 feet wide and 4.2 to 4.7 feet deep. The two end slabs project for an undetermined distance beyond the enclosed ends of the lengthwise elements. Three walls are almost perpendicular but the south-

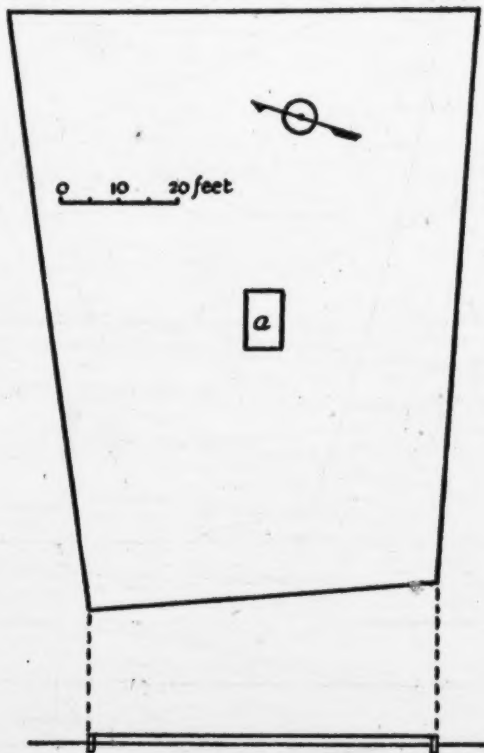


FIGURE 31.—Plan of langi Otalafaiva, Euakafa Island, Vavau, height 1.2 to 1.5 feet, length of northwest wall 101.5 feet, length of northeast wall 79 feet: a, vault 10 feet long, 3.2 feet wide, 4.2 to 4.7 feet deep.

east wall leans in toward the top at an angle of about 6° from the perpendicular. The northernmost and southernmost corners define angles of less than 90° ; the remaining corners define angles of more than 90° . A somewhat irregularly squared slab of stone in horizontal position forms the top of the vault. It has a length of 10.8 feet, a width varying from 6.5 feet at either end to 7.2 feet at a point intermediate between ends, and is only 0.4 foot thick. The edges of this stone cover, which overlap the walls of the vault on all sides, extend 2 feet beyond the rim of the vault on the southeast side and

1.7 feet beyond the northeast rim. A large triangular section is broken from the south-east side of the vault lid, giving access to the vault. The opening so formed has three sides each slightly more than 2 feet in length. The piece broken from the lid lies beneath the opening on the floor of the vault. Its shape and size are such that it could not possibly have fallen through while the lid was in place, but must have found its present situation at some time when the vault lid was raised, or in course of being raised or lowered.

The bones of a skeleton were found in this vault by a government surveyor.

26. Paepaeotelea (Platform-of-Telea) at Mua, Tongatabu, Type F (fig. 32; Pl. IV, A).

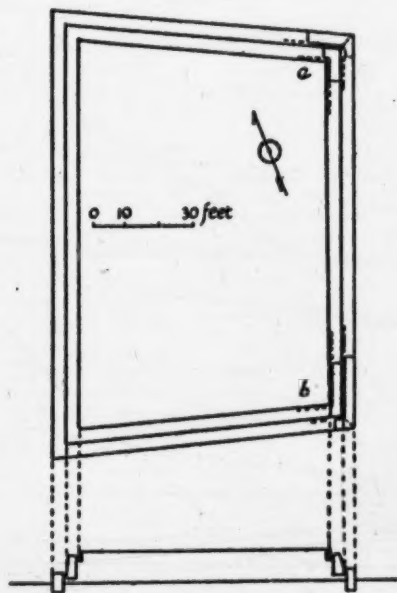


FIGURE 32.—Plan of langi Paepaeotelea at Mua, Tongatabu, height 8.4 feet, length of western wall 135.5 feet, length of southern wall 92.5 feet: a, b, L-shaped corner stones.

Paepaeotelea is the only structure of its type in Tonga—not a very remarkable circumstance, when it is recalled that the Type F is only a highly perfected form of Type E. This structure has three tiers, the top one irrelevantly small. Its most remarkable features are: (a) the great size of stones in the retaining walls; each retaining wall is sufficiently thick to extend almost to the foot of the wall for the succeeding tier; (b) the L-shaped cornerstones on the easternmost corners; (c) the smooth stone dressing which reaches its highest degree of perfection in the beveled corners of the bottom tier.

172
764

The bottom tier, so entirely dominated by the limestone retaining wall that only an interval of 0.7 foot separates the inner edge of the wall from the outer foot of the retaining wall of the second tier, has an apparent outside height of 3.1 feet and an inside height of 3.4 feet. The outer side of the wall is practically perpendicular; the top, 4 feet wide, slopes gently upward toward the foot of the second tier. The individual stones of the lower tier are 8 to 18 feet in length, excepting the L-shaped cornerstone on the southeast corner, which measures 21.3 feet along the eastern side and 6.1 feet along the southern. The northeast cornerstone, also L-shaped, measures 14 feet along the northernmost side and 6 feet along the easternmost. There is a scarf projecting outward from the bottom of the wall, at a level with the adjacent surface of the land, which is 0.3 foot in width at places. This clearly indicates that the stones were finally dressed after having been set in position in the wall. Where the upward sloping top surface of the tier turns the northeast and southeast corners, a sharp though gentle angle is formed by the meeting of the beveled surfaces.

The second tier is 2.3 feet to 4 feet thick and 4.5 feet high. The top surface is horizontal but the outer surface slants from the base toward the mound to such an extent that the outer top edge of the wall is inset 1 foot from the outer base edge. The interval between the inner top edge of this wall and the outer surface of the top tier varies from 0.7 foot to 1 foot. The southeast and northeast corners are marked by large stones cut in an L-shape to turn the corners. The northeast cornerstones measures 4 feet along the northernmost side and 9.5 feet along the easternmost. Stones in this tier are 5 to 10 feet long.

The top tier, ridiculously small in comparison with the two lower, is 1 foot in height and averages 0.6 foot in thickness. It is perpendicularly placed and flat topped. Individual stones entering into its construction average 3 feet in length.

All the large stones in this langi are fashioned from the coral reef limestone, which made it possible to hew out the truly gigantic L-shaped cornerstones. The surfacing is extraordinarily smooth when the porosity of the material used is taken into consideration. All corners except those described are formed by overlapping stones in the usual Tongan manner.

172
764
173
[643]

There is no surface evidence of vaults in the langi. Tradition states that it was built by the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I, otherwise known as Telea. According to one story, Telea was drowned and his body never recovered; according to another, he is buried in this langi. The great stones are said to have been carried to Tonga from Uvea on an immense sailing boat called *Lomipeau* (13, p. 67). Uvea is a volcanic island while the stone used in the langi is coral, identical in every way to that of the reef exposures along the nearby coast.

172
764
[712]

27. Pangai (A-meeting-place) on the outskirts of the town of Feletoa, Vavau, between the two moats protecting the eastern outer wall of the old fortress (p. 82).

[177]

At first sight this langi appeared to be a Type A structure. However, closer examination disclosed fragmentary portions of three tier walls. The unusual state of ruin characterizing this structure is due to the fact that many stones have recently been removed for building purposes by natives under European influence. This is the only known example of such vandalism in Tonga, and is in no way compatible with the known native attitude toward these monuments.

The dilapidated condition of the langi made it impossible to obtain a complete series of accurate measurements. The mound is now 10 feet high and the bottom platform was originally about 100 feet square. The stones in the retaining wall of the bottom tier are about 2 feet high, those in the top tier about 1.7 feet. The largest stone seen, in the bottom tier, measured 2 feet (apparent height) by 5 feet by 0.8 foot. As a stone adjoining this one had been quite recently removed, the depth to which it

had been buried in the earth to give it foundation was easily determined as 2.5 feet, giving the stone a true height of 4.5 feet. A large dressed stone found lying in the bottom of the innermost moat of the fortification, 20 yards from the langi, measured 6 feet in length, 4 feet in width, and 1.1 feet in thickness.

No surface evidence of a vault was apparent. Tradition says that a Tui Tonga Fefine named Taemoemimi and the Tui Tonga Pau are buried here. One account has it that the Tui Tonga Ulukalala II also rests in this langi, but this contention is stoutly denied by others. According to Kalaota, the last burial in Pangai was that of Foanui-nuiava, the father of the last Tui Tonga, Laufilitonga.

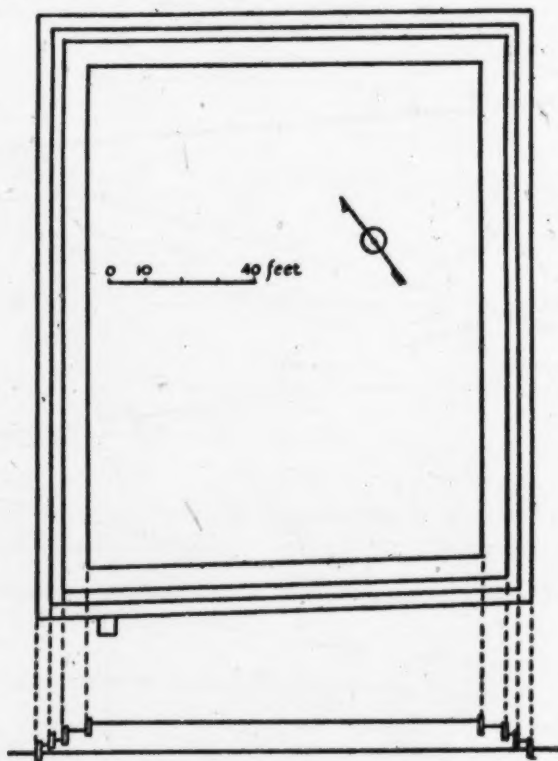


FIGURE 33.—Plan of langi Puipui at Mua, Tongatabu, height 8 feet, length of southern base wall 134 feet, length of eastern wall 159 feet.

28. Puipui, also known as Mau (To-receive), at Mua, Tongatabu, Type E (fig. 33; Pl. IV, B).

Puipui is a four-tiered structure. The retaining wall of the bottom tier is 2.8 feet in apparent height, and that of the second tier, inset 3.5 feet from the outer surface

172 of the bottom tier, is 2.6 feet. The wall of the third tier, inset 3.1 feet from the outer
 764 surface of the second tier, has an apparent height of 2.5 feet. The wall of the top tier,
 inset 6.5 feet from the outer surface of tier three, has an apparent height of 1.8 feet.
 The retaining walls range in thickness from 0.5 foot to 1.8 feet, each of the upper
 tier walls is somewhat narrower than the lower preceding wall.

The stones in the walls are 6 to 18 feet in length. The largest is 18 feet long, with an apparent height of 2.7 feet and a thickness of 1.7 feet. Another large stone is 13 feet in length, 2.7 feet in apparent height and 2.4 feet in thickness. A third large stone is 11.5 feet in length, 2.7 feet in apparent height, and 2.7 feet in thickness. The name Tuituihoku applied to some stone in this langi may refer to one of these large stones.

The technique of workmanship exhibited by this langi is comparatively good. The corners are formed by overlapping stones placed without reference to uniformity. One stone in the wall of the topmost tier has a peculiar shape. At the base it is 1 foot thick, but abruptly diminishes toward the top to a thickness of 0.5 foot. The middle of the superior edge of this stone is marked by a transverse semicircular depression 0.3 foot in depth and 0.7 foot in width.

Near the southwest corner of the langi is a paved approach consisting of a rectangular area about 5 feet square adjoining the wall of the bottom tier, and paved with small roughly shaped fragments of slab stone. There are no apparent indications of vaults and no records of burials.

29. Siapua at Tungua, Haapai, 6 feet north of langi Mouna, Type E.

Siapua is a two-tiered structure, with a base measuring 75 feet along the western wall and 55 feet along the southern, and a height of 2.5 feet. The retaining walls of the bottom tier are 1.3 feet high. The wall of the top tier, inset 3 feet from the outer surface of the bottom tier, is 1.2 feet high. The stones comprising the walls average 3 feet in length and are 0.5 foot to 0.7 foot in thickness. The workmanship is marked by smoothly dressed surfaces that meet in sharply defined angles. The stones meet end to end with nice exactness. The corners are formed by overlapping cornerstones. There is no apparent surface evidence of vaults. This langi is said to be the burial place of the family of Tuihaateiho, closely related to the Tamaha Mouna.

30. Sinai (probably a recent makeshift for a name forgotten) called also Sinaitakalangileka (Sinai-lying-in-little-langi) in Mua, Tongatabu, Type D.

Sinai measures 44.3 feet along the southern wall and 55.6 feet along the eastern. The top of the retaining wall and of the flat platform stand 1 foot above the surrounding land. The stones of the retaining wall average 2 feet in length and are 0.4 foot to 0.5 foot in thickness. The largest is 3.5 feet long, 0.4 foot thick and has an apparent height of 1.5 feet. The workmanship is relatively good. The cornerstones overlap in the usual manner. There are no surface indications of a vault, but Sinai, the daughter of Tui Tonga Ulukimata I, is said to be buried here.

31. Taetaea (Inaccessible) in Mua, Tongatabu, Type D.

Taetaea measures 88 feet along its southern side and 69.7 feet along the eastern side. The platform stands 3.2 feet above the surrounding land. The stones of the retaining wall are 0.6 foot to 0.8 foot in thickness and 3 to 4 feet in length. They are dressed and matched with exceptional care. The largest stone, 7 feet long and 0.8 foot thick, may be the stone bearing the name Hakelukuanganavu (Place-of-lime-mixing) which is mentioned in connection with the langi. The corners are formed by a hap-

hazard overlapping of cornerstones. However, a stone at the northeast corner is mortised into the side of the opposing overlapping cornerstone to a depth of 0.2 foot. 172

Taetaea is said to be the burial place of the Tuihaapula family and to have been used as such quite recently. No external evidence of vaults was apparent. 764

32. Tamatiu is reported to be a langi situated somewhere in Mua, Tongatabu, but its exact location could not be determined. It is probably one of the unidentified structures described on page 60.

33. Tamatou (Child-of-tou-wood), near Mahaunga, Tongatabu, Type E.

Tamatou consists of two tiers. The base of the southeast side measures 88 feet; its southwest side, 75 feet. Its top platform is 3.2 feet above the level of the surrounding land. The retaining wall of the bottom tier has an apparent height of 2.5 feet and is 0.8 foot thick; that of the top tier, inset 4.6 feet from the outer surface of the bottom tier, has an apparent height of 1.7 feet and is 0.7 foot thick. The stones in the retaining walls average 6 feet in length. They are dressed with unusual care and matched with exactitude. The corners are formed in the usual manner.

Excavation in the langi failed to disclose a stone vault (p. 113), and tradition has it that no human remains are buried here (13, p. 55). The Tui Tonga Tamatou was a block of toa wood (*Caruarina*), or perhaps a wooden doll, the toy of the child prince who was to succeed to the title. The child, when told that he was to become the Tui Tonga, displayed characteristic princely perversity and insisted that his toy, the piece of wood, was the new Tui Tonga. The will of so great a chieftain, it would seem, was not to be contested, so the piece of wood was recognized as the king. Later, when the child assumed a more reasonable attitude, perhaps grown sufficiently old to see the folly of his action, the wooden Tui Tonga was declared dead and buried in the langi which bears its name. 173 643 (172) 764

34. Tauhakeleve (Get-ashore-at-once) is a langi name recorded in some traditional accounts in possession of Prince Tungi. It is described as a one-tiered structure and is probably one of the Lapaha group on Tongatabu. 172 764

35. Tauhala, in Mua, Tongatabu, Type D (fig. 34).

The retaining walls of Tauhala, built entirely of unusually large stones, are 0.7 foot to 1.3 feet in thickness. The stones average 10 feet in length. A stone on the east side of the southeast corner has an apparent height of 4.8 feet, and is 1.3 feet thick and 18.8 feet long. Another, near the center of the easternmost side, of average height and thickness, is 16.7 feet long. The largest stone in the structure, placed near the center of the westernmost wall, is 7.6 feet in apparent height, and 24.6 feet long (Pl. III, B). It stands with monumental superiority 3 feet above the adjoining stones and above the top of the great platform. At its top edge the stone is only 1 foot thick, but at the point of contact between the inner surface of the stone and the top of the platform it is 2 feet thick. Thus the stone seems first to have been placed in position in the wall and later to have been dressed down to make its upper portion conform in width with adjoining stones in the wall.

The surfacing of the stones is not uniformly smooth. Some are carefully dressed, others roughly, but all the stones are carefully and neatly matched throughout, and the cornerstones overlap in the usual haphazard manner. There are incised figures on the westernmost side of the retaining wall (p. 79). There is no surface evidence of vaults. No tradition concerning burials was heard.

172
764

36. Tautonga, in Mua, Tongatabu, Type D.

Tautonga is probably the name of the structure here described. Some reference was found to a three-tiered Tautonga, but no structure of this type could be found that was not accounted for under some other well known appellation.

The western wall of Tautonga measures 77.8 feet; the northern wall, 71 feet; the walls and enclosed platform are 2 feet high. The stones in the wall average 0.7

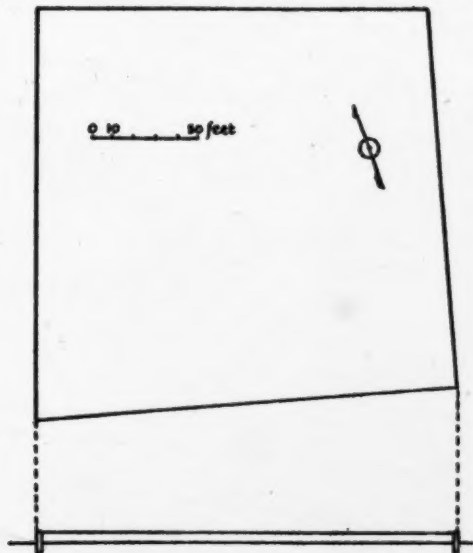


FIGURE 34.—Plan of langi Tauhala at Mua, Tongatabu, average height 4.7 feet, length of eastern wall 170 feet, length of northern wall 177 feet.

foot in thickness and 3 feet in length. One stone has a length of 5.5 feet and a thickness of 0.9 foot. The stone dressing is normally smooth and the stones meet with an exact nicety, end to end. The corner stones overlap in the usual manner.

There is no surface indications of vaults in the structure and nothing could be determined regarding burials.

37. Tafaua (Cut-in-two), in Mua, Tongatabu, Type C (fig. 35).

Tafaua consists primarily of an oblong mound of earth with a circular top and a rectangular base. A rectangular stone wall surrounds the mound intermediate between its top and bottom, its faces parallel to the margins of the mound base 14 feet distant. This wall seems to serve a decorative rather than a practical purpose and probably explains the name "Cut-in-two," as it separates the upper half of the mound from the lower. Most of the stones in the wall are 3 to 4 feet long; one is 7 feet long. The stones are smoothly dressed and neatly matched and fitted together. The corners are formed by stones overlapping in the usual manner. Two stones in the structure are said to be named Vuna and Mataele, but no one was found who was able to point them out.

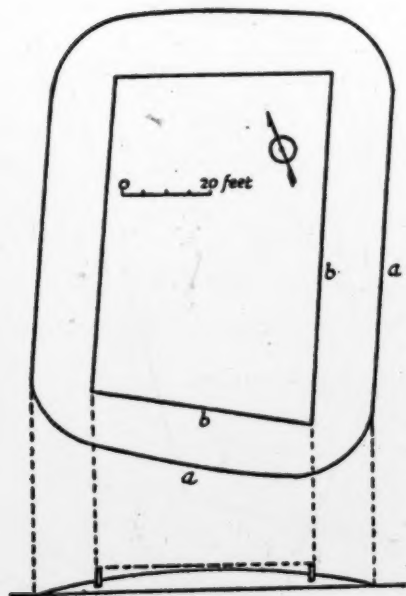


FIGURE 35

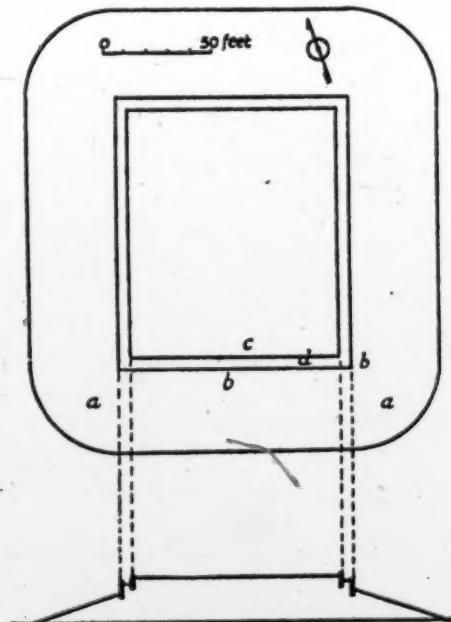


FIGURE 36

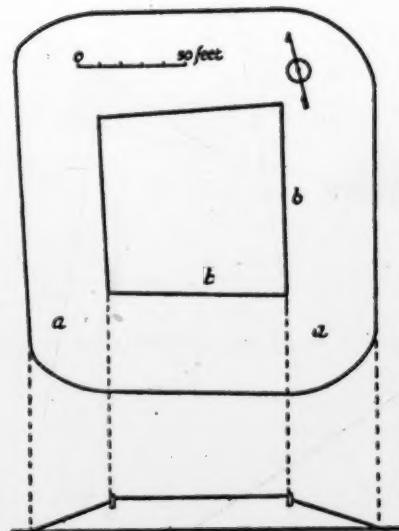


FIGURE 37

FIGURE 35.—Plan of langi Tafana at Mua, Tongatabu: *a*, margin of mound, 103 feet long, 76.7 feet wide, 4 feet high; *b*, stone wall, length 73 feet on eastern side, 48.7 feet long on northern side, average height 2.5 feet.

FIGURE 36.—Plan of langi Tuofefafa: *a*, foundation mound, 200 feet long, 185 feet wide, 9 feet high; *b*, retaining wall, length 122 feet on western side, 105 feet on northern side, height 4 feet; *c*, retaining wall 2.4 feet high; *d*, top of first tier, 5.8 feet wide.

FIGURE 37.—Plan of langi Tuoteau at Mua, Tongatabu: *a*, truncated mound 175 feet long, 160 feet wide and 12.7 feet high; *b*, wall of platform 87 feet long on eastern side, 80.7 feet long on southern side, 2.3 feet high.

172
764 No surface evidence of a vault is apparent. Two individuals, Tokemoana and Tafolo, are said to be buried here.

38. Tongamanatu (Anxious-Tonga), reported to be in Mua, Tongatabu. No structure with that name was identified. It may be one of the langis for which names could not be found.

39. Tuofefafa, or Fanakavakilangi, in Mua, Tongatabu, Type E (fig. 36).

According to Prince Tungi and to Collocott (3), *fefafa* may be translated in three ways: (a) something small close to something large; (b) a man buried in a small langi close to a large adjoining langi; (c) two men buried in one grave, one superposed upon the other.

Tuofefafa is a two-tiered structure resting upon the flat top of an artificial truncated pyramid of earth, with a rectangular base. The combined height of the structure is 15 feet.

The foundation mound is a Type B structure with sides that slope up from a ditch, which partly surrounds it, to the stone walled platform of the superstructure. The base of the mound is 35 to 40 feet from the outer walls of the superposed platforms. The stones in the wall are 6 to 7 feet long and 0.7 foot to 1.1 feet thick. The largest stone, near the northwest corner, is 18.5 feet in length, 4.6 feet in apparent height, and 3.2 feet in thickness. The type of workmanship exhibited by the stone dressing and fitting is relatively good. The corner stones are formed in the usual manner.

Tuipulotu I, Tokemoana I, and Laofilitonga are said to be buried in Tuofefafa, the last named during historical times.

40. Tuoteau (One-hundred-times) in Mua, Tongatabu, Type D structure superposed on a flat topped Type B structure (fig. 37).

The margin of the truncated mound on which Tuoteau rests is 40 to 45 feet from the bottom of the platform's retaining wall. The total height of mound and superstructure is 15 feet, not allowing for a shallow ditch which appears originally to have entirely surrounded the mound.

The individual stones in the platform wall average 5 feet in length and 0.6 foot in thickness. The largest stone, situated near the southwest corner, is 13.6 feet long, 5 feet in apparent height, and 1 foot to 1.5 feet thick. The walls are characterized by normally smooth dressing and stone fitting. The corners are formed by the usual haphazard overlapping of corner stones. Tuoteau is the resting place of Tuipulotu II, for whom it was erected by his son, the Tui Tonga Pau. A stone named Pau is in the structure.

41. The Loamanu group (fig. 38). Of the langis situated at Mua, Tongatabu, four known to have been built as burial sites for the Tui Haatakalua family are sometimes collectively called Loamanu. They are arranged in a row extending approximately north and south. The southernmost is known as Falepulemaalo. Next in order comes Loamanu, then Faletuipapai (House-of-Tuipapai), and a fourth structure which could not be identified by name and is here called Loamanu IV.

41 a. Falepulemaalo, Type D (fig. 38, a).

Adjoining Falepulemaalo is a platform 64.5 feet long and 56 feet wide. The retaining walls of both the main and the adjoining platform average 0.8 foot in thickness.

The stones in the walls are 4.5 to 6 feet in length. Ascending to the top of the main platform from a central point on the western side is an inclined approach consisting of two inclined parallel retaining walls 6 feet apart made of upright slabs which slant upwards from the ground level to within 0.7 foot of the top of the platform which they meet at right angles. These walls are 0.8 foot thick, and the interval between them is filled with earth and rubble, and paved with large, flat, roughly rectangular stone slabs. Another approach on the eastern side of the main platform consists of a

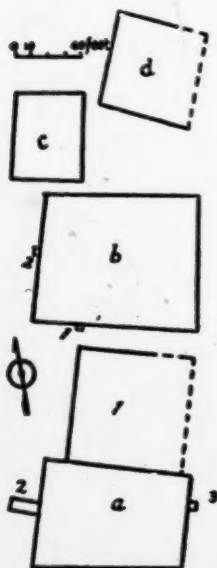


FIGURE 38.—Plan of Loamanu group of langis at Mua, Tongatabu: a, Falepulemaalo, length southern side 85.5 feet, western side 60 feet, height 2.4 feet—1, adjoining platform 64.5 feet long, 56 feet wide, 2.4 feet high; 2, roadway 16 feet long—; 3, stone slab 4.5 feet long, 4 feet wide; b, Loamanu, length southern side 92.5 feet, length western side 75 feet, average height 2 feet—; 1, stone step 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, 0.6 to 0.7 foot thick; 2, fragments of stone—; c, Faletuipapai, length eastern side 51 feet, length southern side 39.5 feet, height 0.7 to 0.8 foot; d, Loamanu IV, length of western wall 55 feet, height 2 feet.

single squared slab of stone laid flat and adjoining the wall of the langi. In thickness the slab varies from 0.8 foot at the wall to 0.4 foot at its outermost edge, thus giving the slab a gentle upward slope. All stones comprising the retaining wall are very smoothly dressed and fitted together. The corners are formed by overlapping; the eastern and western cornerstones overlapping the opposing northern and southern stones. On the eastern side of the main platform the cornerstones of the northern and southern walls are shallowly mortised into the respective opposing cornerstones of the east wall. Tungi, the grandfather of Prince Tungi, consort to the present queen of Tonga, is buried in this langi, which according to all testimony was built at a recent historical date.

172

764

[175]

172
764 41 b. Loamanu, Type D (fig. 38, b).

Loamanu bears evidence of being the oldest structure in the Loamanu group, which may account for the application of the name to the entire group. The retaining walls average 2 feet in apparent height and 0.7 foot to 1.1 feet in thickness. At the northwest and southwest corners where the earth has been partially removed from the foot of the wall, the apparent height of the wall is, respectively, 3.1 and 3.2 feet. The stones in the wall average 5 feet in length. The longest stone, now lying prone near the northwest corner, is 14 feet long, 4.5 feet wide, and 2 feet thick. The breadth of this stone, compared with the apparent height of the adjacent wall, indicates that fully half of the wall is buried to give it foundation. An approach on the southern side of the langi consists of a stone slab, forming a low step to the top of the platform. On the western side of the langi there was probably a similar approach, now represented by a number of suggestively grouped stone fragments. The surfacing and jointing of stone elements are smoothly executed. The corners are formed by one cornerstone overlapping the opposing cornerstone, without reference to uniformity. There is no surface indication of vaults, nor was any information obtained regarding burials.

41 c. Faletuipapai, Type D (fig. 38, c).

The stone retaining wall of Faletuipapai is 0.2 to 0.6 feet in thickness, the stones comprising it average 2 feet in length. Those remaining intact are smoothly dressed and carefully fitted together. Parts of the wall, including all four corners, are broken by missing elements. Near the northeast corner is a large stone, 6.5 feet long, 0.8 foot thick, and with an apparent height of 1.7 feet. There is no surface indication of vaults. No information could be obtained regarding traditional burials.

41 d. Loamanu IV (known to some as Loani's cemetery), Type D (fig. 38, d).

Loamanu IV is in so poor a state of preservation that the walls of the entire eastern half cannot be located save by a rather doubtfully accurate projection. In the westernmost wall, the only one left entirely intact, the stone dressing and fitting is similar to that of adjacent Loamanu structures. As the name implies, members of the family of Loani are said to be buried here.

UNNAMED LANGIS

The following three small langis, for which informants failed to supply names, were seen in the Lapaha group of Mua, Tongatabu. One of them is probably Nukulaui.

42. Unnamed langi situated between the langis Taetaea, Tafaua, and Leka. Type D.

The easternmost wall is 55 feet long; the northernmost wall, 42.5 feet long. The average height of walls and platform is 1 foot. The dressed stones of the retaining walls are 3 to 6 feet long and 0.5 foot to 0.7 foot thick. The stone surfacing and fitting are of average merit. Corners are formed by one cornerstone overlapping the end of the opposing cornerstone, with either stone holding the outside position. There are no surface indications of vaults.

43. Unnamed langi situated between Nukulau and Faapite, Type D.

The westernmost wall is 50.5 feet in length; the southernmost wall, 37 feet. The retaining wall averages 0.9 foot in height and is from 0.7 to 1 foot thick. The convexly rounded top platform stands 2.5 feet above the surrounding land level. The stone surfacing and fitting are of average merit. The corners show an unusual degree of what appears to be experimentation toward the strengthening of the weak overlapping structure. Several crude types of mortising are attempted. There are no surface indications of vaults.

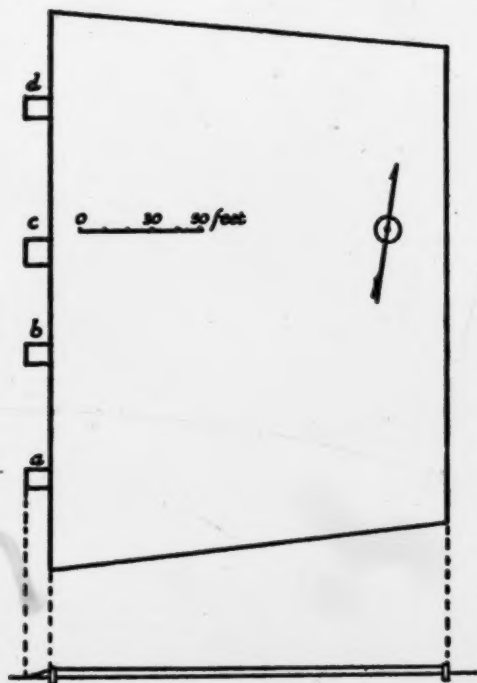


FIGURE 30.—Plan of unnamed langi, Uihā, Haapai, 190 feet long, 65 feet wide, 2 to 3.8 feet high: a, approach 10 feet long, 7 feet wide; b, approach 10 feet long, 7.8 feet wide; c, approach 10 feet long, 10.5 feet wide; d, approach 10 feet long, 7.5 feet wide.

44. Unnamed langi situated 44 feet west of Faapite and south of Matuatonga, Type D.

The southernmost wall is 39.5 feet long; the westernmost wall, 40 feet long. The retaining walls average 0.8 foot in height and 0.7 foot in thickness. The stones comprising the wall are 2 to 4 feet long. They are dressed and fitted with somewhat less

172 than average merit. Corners are formed in the usual haphazard manner of overlapping.
764 There are no surface indications of vaults.

45. Unnamed langi on the island of Uiha, Haapai, Type D (fig. 39).

The stones in the wall are 4 to 12.3 feet long and 0.6 to 1 foot thick. The western side of the langi is distinguished by (a) having the largest stones, (b) by relatively superior stone dressing and fitting, much of it accomplished through the use of steel tools, (c) by the presence of a peculiar monumental stone on the southwest corner, 0.9 foot wide, 0.7 foot thick and 3 feet high, and (d) by the presence of four approaches, spaced at respective intervals of 35.6, 46, 32, and 48 feet from the northwest corner. All four are alike in structure. The perpendicular sides are fashioned of large dressed slabs of stone, the top edges cut to the angle of slope (about 20°) determined by the height of the retaining wall. The surface of each approach is paved with slabs, slab fragments, gravel, or all materials combined. The inclined way extends from the ground level to within a few inches of the top of the retaining wall.

The top of the langi is paved with coral gravel, save where modern graves and grave monuments interrupt. The langi contains several stone vaults and is used as a cemetery by the recognized descendants of those for whom it was originally built. Many of the burials are quite recent. The workmanship exhibited by the structure is such as to warrant the conclusion that it is either comparatively new or has been extensively repaired in historic times.

DISCUSSION OF STONE STRUCTURES

ORIGIN OF STRUCTURES

There is no reasonable doubt that the dressed stone structures of Tonga, the stone-walled *esi* and langis and the trilithon, are the products of the present inhabiting race. There is not the slightest evidence warranting the assignment of an age to any of these structures which would be incompatible with such a conclusion. The technique of stone dressing is quite within the limits of Tongan talent and equipment. The necessary methods of quarrying, transportation and erection harmonize perfectly with the state of primitive Tongan culture. The necessary organization of man-power required in the undertaking of such huge constructive projects was the logical result of centralized power vested in the single head of political and social Tonga, the Tui Tonga. Local tradition reflects not the slightest doubt as to Tongan origin. Native accounts of the building and use of these structures have the practical and accurate sound of historical records; most of them are surprisingly free from even the most obscure mythological associations. The mythical accounts are easily separated from historical accounts and are patently free from historical purpose. Some of these structures were actually built in historic times under the observation of reliable European witnesses. Many of them are still used from time to time in their traditional capacity.

This impressive ethnological evidence justifies the treatment of these interesting monuments as the work of the immediate ancestors of the present population of the archipelago.

RELATIVE AGE OF LANGIS

During the search for information regarding specific langis, a list of named langis on Tongatabu, written in Tongan, was placed at my disposal. In it are a few historical notes. The true source of this material is rather doubtful. It was first seen in a notebook in the possession of Uhatafe, an old man of Mua, Tongatabu, who is directly descended from a line of high matapules formerly in the service of the Tui Tonga. Uhatafe stated that he had written the notes when young, having gotten the information from his father, who had in turn received it from his father, and so on. Identically the same list was later found in a magazine printed in Tonga by the Catholic mission at Mua. Whether or not this printed version had been copied from Uhatafe's book could not be determined. The following is a translation of the manuscript:

The book of succession of the different langis, and information concerning those who made them; their names are also given.

The different langis are known, but as to who made each and who is buried there, some are [known] and others not.

764
173
172

1. The first langi, Fangaloso, situated at Navai, town of Lufe.
2. And the langi Folokamanu which stands at Mataliku on the outskirts of the town of Pea.
3. And the langi Matamoana which stands between Tufamahina and Talangaholova.
4. And the langi Makamaka which stands between Fuamotu and the *api* Haavaka. This langi is where a pregnant Tui Tonga Fefine, she who was nicknamed Fuamotu Tofamoealo by Mohulamu.

[643] 5 and 6. Then he [the Tui Tonga] transferred to Hahake and two langis were built, that of Heketa and the langi Moungalafa, and that was the work of Tui Tonga Tuitatui.

[643] And when the king Tukuaho was murdered, the grandfather of Tungi, who was named Mulikihaamea, became the Tui Tonga. He was the Tui Tonga Maulupekotofa, and the Tui Tonga Pau his brother. Their father was Tuipulotu II. They had different mothers.

Names of the langis of Mua:

1. Langi Tuoteau.
2. Langi Tauatonga.
3. Langi Matuatonga (or Katoa).
4. Langi Tofaua, the stone Kopau (or Luani).
5. Langi Tauhala.
6. Langi Leka, the stone Tuituiohu.
8. Langi Taetaea.
9. Langi Tuofefafa. (Here are buried Tuipulotu and Tokemoana.)
10. Langi Paepaeotelea.
12. Langi Namoala.
13. Nakulukilangi.
14. Langi Tongamanatu.
15. Langalangafehi.
16. Langi Koolonamu.
17. Langi Lili.
18. Langi Olomaloa.
19. Langi Faletonga.
20. Langi Tamatiu.

[127] The following additions to this data were gleaned from material furnished by Prince Tungi, translated by Rev. E. E. V. Collocott.

Langi Leka. Four terraces. Work of Tulunga.

Langi Tafaua. One terrace. Two buried there, Tokemoana and Tafa'o. There stand the stones Vuna and Mataele.

Langi Tauatonga. Three terraces.

Langi Taetaea. There stands the stone Hakalukuanganava of Tuihaapula. One terrace.

Langi Tauhakelevu. One terrace.

Langi Mau. Four terraces. There stands the named stone Tuituiohu.

Langi Katoa. Five terraces. One named stone there.

Langi Tuoteau. One terrace. Tuipulotu there.

Langi Foa. Two terraces. The stone Pau, a volcanic stone.

Langi Paepaeotelea. Three terraces.

Langi Namoala. Three terraces. This is the langi of the woman Finau. Her mother, Latutama, lamented—and this is her lament: Come ye and carry out the burial.

172
764 Uhatafe's list of langis certainly pretends to be chronologically arranged in order of building. Upon examination, it was found that the first on the

list, Fangaloso, was a roughly circular mound of earth and sand 6 feet high and 65 feet in diameter. The second and third on the list, Folokamanu and Matamoana, were of exactly the same type as Fangaloso. Excavations in Folokamanu failed to discover a stone vault (p. 114). Matamoana is said to have a vault, and some broken fragments of stone lying about the mound are pointed out by the natives as chips that were broken from the vault slabs when they were dressed for placement in the structure. 172
764

Makamaka, fourth on the list, is a higher order of structure. It is also of earth but has a squared outline with rounded corners. It is 4 feet in height with a maximum lateral dimension of 90 feet. Its shape is further complicated by the presence of a surrounding ditch 2 to 4 feet in depth and averaging 14 feet in width. The superior surface of the mound is large and flat. There are a few fragments of coral limestone lying about its base.

The fifth and sixth on the list, Heketa and Moungalafa, are well developed stone-terraced structures. Heketa has three terraces, Moungalafa but one, but the stones of this single terrace are very large and rather neatly dressed and matched.

In the Mua list the first three langis named constitute three of the four stone langis within the ancient fortification of Lapaha. The first of these structures is peculiar in that it is built upon a high artificial foundation mound. None of the three is quite so well built as Heketa.

The next four langis on the list are situated at the southern end of the double row of langis north of and outside the fortifications of Lapaha. They also are stone-terraced structures. Of these, Leka, a four-terraced structure, is one of the most imposing examples of stone platforms in the group, and Tauhala covers a base area of over 30,000 square feet, in this respect surpassing all other Tongan langis.

The next in order on the list is Tuofefafa, also called Fanakavakilangi. It stands inside the fortified district of Lapaha, the fourth and last of the group of langis so situated. Like Tuoteau, the first on the list, it is built upon a high artificial foundation mound. The stonework is average in comparative merit.

The next langi listed is Paepaeotelea, representing the highest skill in stone work to be found in Tonga (p. 51). The stone faces are very exactly dressed with a degree of skill and care not observed in any other stone work in Tonga. This comparatively superior finish exists in spite of the fact that the stone employed, unstratified coral limestone, is the hardest rock used in Tongan construction work. The bottom one of three terraces, and the larger part of the second terrace, is composed entirely of stone, the units being very large. The top surface of the bottom terrace has a beveled incline from its outer edges to the foot of the second terrace. These beveled surfaces meet

172 at the corners in beautifully exact lines of contact. These characteristics are
 764 unique features of this one langi.

Namoala, next on the list, lies just beside and in line with Paepaeotelea. It is a three-terraced stone structure representing a class of workmanship greatly inferior to that of its neighbor, but comparing favorably with the other langis of Mua.

Tongamanatu and Koolonamu could not be found. If they exist in Mua, they are not now known by these names.

Lili, following on the list, is a square, truncated earthen pyramid. There is no sign of stone work.

Olomaloa is a comparatively small stone-walled platform consisting of but a single tier. It is representative of the most simple type of stone-walled langi.

Faletoonga is an oval-shaped mound of earth, flat-topped, showing no trace of stone work.

Tamatiu could not be located in Mua. As many of the langis have more than one name and as the Mua list fails to mention a large number of the Mua langis, some of the unidentified names may belong to structures described under other names.

A survey of the listed facts disclosed the following interesting situation: The first four langis mentioned are mounds of earth, simply shaped save for the last one, which approaches a rectangle in lateral cross section. There follows a series of rectangular platform types with stone retaining walls, many of them pyramidal in shape with two to five terraces. The maximum in size is Tauhala, followed in turn by Telea's langi, the masterpiece of Tongan stone masonry. The remainder of the series shows a rapid deterioration which culminates in the earthen mound type exemplified in the first langi of the series.

As the list pretends to be arranged in chronological order, the facts seem to indicate a local development of the langi from a simple earthen burial mound, like the *faitoka*, to a massive, skillfully constructed, stone-walled platform, or pyramidal series of platforms. This development reaches a climax with Telea's langi and then suffers an extraordinary decline until the original earthen mound type is again in use.

172 To a certain extent this account is supported by Tongan tradition. There
 173 are many accounts of Tui Tonga Tuitatui, including those of his removal to
 764 Hahake from somewhere in western Tongatabu to establish a new capital for
 643 the royal family. He is said to have built the Haamonga and the two langis
 nearby, the first stone-walled langi on the list under discussion. If indeed
 he was the first Tongan to experiment in stone structural work, he made
 rapid progress, for his langis are large, complicated, and well built and the
 Haamonga stands as a remarkable monument to the skill of its builders and

McKern—Tongan Archaeology

71

the imagination of its perpetrators, a work never again attempted by Tongar. stone masons.

Tradition then gives a detailed account of the transfer of royal headquarters from Hahake to Lapaha, the site of the present town of Mua. This remained the home of the Tongan kings until the middle of the nineteenth century. The fortifications surrounding Lapaha, the oldest part of Mua, are reported to have been built by one of the earliest of the Mua-dwelling kings. This statement coincides with the small number of langis to be found inside the fortification. Of the four langis in Lapaha, three are named in the list where they immediately follow the Hahake langi.

Again, the period intervening between Tuitatui and Telea, as represented by number of langis built, closely coincides with the same period as represented in genealogies. Thus, there are 10 langis listed between those said to have been built by Tuitatui and that built by Telea. There were 17 Tui Tonga between these two monarchs, but it is definitely known that more than one king were sometimes buried in a langi.

There is then a certain amount of evidence to support the acceptance of the traditional list of langis at its face value as a chronological record. The decadency of type in the later structures might be explained by the parallel decadency of the power of the Tui Tonga, a traditional and to some extent historical fact. This weakening of the old dynasty of kings was well under way when Cook first visited the group. Great power vested in the king, or in some other leader, was an essential factor in the building of any structure requiring the highly organized labor necessary to the successful building of the largest and finest of the Tongan langis.

There are, however, portions of this supposed chronology which cast doubtful shadows over its chronological value.

In Uhatafe's list the paragraph immediately following the account of the work of Tuitatui refers to the kings Tukuaho, Tuipulotu II, Maulupekotofa, and Pau. These rulers lived about twenty-four generations after Tuitatui, according to Tongan genealogies. This paragraph is therefore certainly out of place in any chronological sequence of events. These same genealogies name fifteen rulers intervening between Nuitamatou, probably the last Tui Tonga to reign before the capitol was moved to Lapaha, and Telea, whereas there are only nine langis in the list assigned to this period. As explained before, there is no necessary discrepancy here. The larger of the langis are said to contain several vaults each. Some kings were also buried abroad, as stated by tradition and as supported by the presence of langis on other islands of the Tongan group. This list, however, places Tuipulotu I in the ninth Mua langi, whereas Telea's langi is number ten. Genealogical data disputes this order in naming Tuipulotu the fourth king following Telea. Of course there is the possibility that Tuipulotu was buried in a tomb belonging to one

172

173

643

[764]

[712]

172

764

173

[643]

172

173

764

643

[127]

172

173

764

127

643

172 of his ancestors, and that the langi might have been built before Telea's time.
 173 This, however, seems improbable. Ten langis occur in the list following that
 127 of Telea. There are exactly ten Tui Tonga named in genealogies following
 764 Telea, but at least one of these is buried, according to tradition, on another
 643 island and the last, Laufilitonga, was buried in historic times in one of the
 other langi. Here again the discrepancy is not fatal to the accuracy of the
 list. One positive and one probable mistake in the list, however, with other
 detail that does not check up too well, serve to a certain extent to discredit
 the entire list as an accurate chronological account.

There is an apparent conflict between the Uhatafi and the Tungi records.
 According to Uhatafi, Tokemoana and Tuipulotu were buried in the langi
 Tuofefafa. According to Tungi, Tokemoana was buried in the langi Tafaua
 and Tuipulotu in Tuoteau. However, inasmuch as there were two kings
 sharing the name Tuipulotu and as it is Tuipulotu II, according to several
 records, who is buried in Tuoteau, and as Tokemoana may have been a
 family name shared alike by many succeeding family heads, the contradiction
 can not be positively accepted as discrediting either of the records.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LANGI

172 There are many reasons for doubting the independent development of
 333 the langi type of structure in Tonga. The abrupt appearance of highly
 [764] developed stone masonry during the reign of Tuitatui may indicate an intro-
 duction of the art into Tonga at that particular time. So highly developed an
 art is not likely to be born within a primitive society in one generation. It
 requires time and experimentation to develop skilled craftsmen who could
 construct a Haamonga or a Heketa.

172 There is a native story which recounts the arrival in Tonga, during the
 173 reign of Tuitatui, of a great foreign chieftain, presumably from Fiji. His
 boat was the largest and finest which the Tongans had ever seen, and built
 of *fehi* (*Apselia bijuga*) wood, previously unknown to them. From the
 wood of this vessel was built a *fata* (a sun shelter in the form of a wall-
 less house with a loft open at either end). The name *Fatafehi*, has been in
 common use in the Tui Tonga family ever since. This foreign chieftain
 seems to have made a great impression upon the Tongans and to have intro-
 duced several new customs and culture elements, but no mention is made
 172 of his introducing the art of stone masonry. While considering the possibility
 of foreign influences, it may be well to note that, according to all available
 evidence, the best of Samoan stone structures seem to have been built by the
 Tongans rather than by the Samoans—a conclusion supported by both Tongan
 and Samoan traditions.

172 Skill in stone dressing could have been acquired gradually through a long
 333 period of vault construction, thus leaving no surface evidence of a period of

experimentation preceding the first appearance of surface stonework. But granting this possibility, it is hard to believe that the art of stone mortising, exemplified in both the Haamonga and the stone house beams on Heketa, could have been so fully developed without previous trials. Also a simple type of terracing might be expected as the first example of surface stonework rather than the comparatively elaborate three-terraced structure represented in langi Heketa. 172
333

The leap from other Mua langis to Paepaeotelea is not so abrupt as first appearances might suggest. Many of the Mua langis show bits of detail, such as smooth surfacing, the use of large thick stones, and close stone fitting, that are only slightly improved upon in Telea's langi, but where these features occur as occasional and scattered bits of detail in the other structures, this one langi shows a combined and uniform adoption of them all, and at their best. 172
764
333

The only new outstanding features in Paepaeotelea are: (a) the bevelling of the superior surfaces of the stone terraces, and (b) the use of L-shaped stones at the corners. It may be said that the solid stone nature of the terraces constitutes a third unique feature, but a careful survey of other langis shows a not infrequent tendency towards this. Such construction is patently impossible where stratified sedimentary rock is used as the building material. The numerous horizontal planes of natural cleavage present in such rock necessarily results in narrow slabs. But the tendency prevailed, as illustrated in all the large langis, to make these slabs as thick as possible, and in one langi a single stone has a width sufficient to extend more than half way across the width of a terrace. The use of nonstratified stone in Paepaeotelea made it possible to give the terrace walls any width desired, and the desired width would seem to have been the maximum width.

Likewise, it would be impossible to cut L-shaped cornerstones from the available stratified rock. On the other hand, experience must have taught the builders that L-corners are highly desirable as cleft corners have a tendency to spread under the weight of loose water-soaked soil and the outward pressure of large trees growing upon the structures. It was not entirely a new idea; its use in the construction of composite wooden boats (17) had undoubtedly long been in vogue. The use of nonstratified limestone made it possible to apply the well known principle to stone construction. 172
333
[396]

Bevelling was a decorative method well understood by boat builders. It is not strange that it should have been adopted sooner or later by stone masons. The use of L-shaped cornerstones made the pleasing effects of bevelling more prominent, and supplies a possible reason for its adoption on the occasion of erecting this particular structure. [396]

A discussion of the probability of an independent invention of the stone vault used in Tonga must wait for a fuller knowledge of stone vaults else- 172
764
171

172 where in the Pacific. It would be remarkable if Tonga and some distant
 764 Oceanic group should have independently developed the same type of vault.
 171 The presence of vaults in Fiji similar to those in Tonga is undoubtedly due
 to diffusion, but the direction of this diffusion is not too certainly known.

172 A platform or terraced type of stone structure, used for various purposes
 and designated by various names, has been reported from many parts of
 171 Polynesia. Its widespread occurrence argues against an independent develop-
 34 ment in Tonga. Nowhere outside Tonga, however, has such a structure been
 associated with the name "langi." The local peculiarities of the stonework
 and structural shape show sufficient independence from other Pacific types to
 deserve careful consideration in this connection. After all, stone platforms
 and pyramids are not peculiar to the Pacific but are found on all the northern
 continents, and it does not necessarily follow that all stone pyramids are
 culturally connected. Stonework associated with a pyramidal shape does not
 offer so extraordinary a combination as to warrant diagnostic conclusions.

172 A strictly structural survey of the langis themselves, disregarding all
 764 native traditional accounts, might lead to the temptation to arrange langis in
 time sequence according to the degree of development in structural features
 exhibited. By such a scheme the Type A langi would be rated the oldest,
 Types B, C, and D logically following in the order named. The pyramidal
 Type E structures would end the development and so appear last upon the
 scene, culminating in Telea's exceptionally splendid tomb.

172 However, incomplete and doubtful as the traditional and historical records
 may be, there are sufficient facts to absolutely refute a theory of time
 173 sequence. The genealogies, jealously kept and protected by the pride of blood
 764 which must always be associated with high social or political rank, are prob-
 ably fairly accurate as far back as Telea, otherwise known as Uluakimata I.
 A time sequence based upon structural development is basicly wrong in that
 it fails to take into consideration the undulation of cultural progress, the ebb
 tides as well as the flood tides, the alternating of periods of retrogression with
 periods of climbing achievement that has marked the history of all culture.

It seems reasonably sure that native tradition has fairly accurately placed
 two of the langis in relative time relation to each other. These are Heketa,
 built by Tuitatui, and Paepaeotelea, Uluakimata's great masterpiece. There
 seems no logical reason to doubt the origin of these structures. According
 to genealogical data, Heketa was built in the early eleventh century, Pae-
 paeotelea in the middle of the sixteenth century. This gives a certain time
 check with which to guide conclusions.

CONCLUSIONS

172 The great stone monuments of Tonga, of which some of the langis and the
 trilithon at Hahake are the best examples, are works of the present race

172 something closely resembling a defence, or at least a boundary to a restricted
 173 area. No known defenses of this type occur in Tonga, however. The Fele-
 [349] toa depression is by far too large to have its origin as traditionally related.
 These stories seem to illustrate rationalized explanations of peculiarities of
 unknown origin. The story of the Makave fill, allowing for exaggeration,
 seems the most possible of the lot. There are other Tongan stories of the
 reclaiming of land from the sea (p. 100).

PETROGLYPHS

172 Some petroglyphs on the island of Telekivavau, Haapai, first came to the
 531 attention of students through the efforts of Mr. Clement L. Wragge and
 Mr. Arthur Rounds. The group includes seven ellipses, more or less circular,
 three of them with from one to two outer appendages and one of them with
 a series of more or less equidistant lines radiating outward from the rim.
 The remaining figures consist of an anthropomorphic representation with
 triangular body, closely associated with a small cross, and a line complex
 including as an important element a cross with arms each terminating in three
 prongs. The figures appear to be carelessly associated without suggestive
 organization.

Mr. Rounds reports the occurrence of a larger group of even simpler
 figures on the southwest end of the island of Tonumea, Haapai, situated on
 the shore line just above high water mark. I made diligent search for these
 but failed to find them. They probably had been covered with sand since Mr.
 Rounds' visit.

These are the only petroglyphs which had come to the attention of Tongan
 students previous to my visit. Petroglyphs of a type entirely different from
 172 those on Telekivavau were found on the stone retaining walls of several of
 531 the langis in Mua, Tongatabu.

764 Most of these, including the largest and most elaborate, are on the langi
 Katoa (p. 40) where designs appear on all four sides of this structure, but
 more on the south and east sides. All five terraces contain figured stones,
 their positions relative to each other suggesting no logical order.

The most simple motifs at Katoa consist of straight, parallel, perpendicular
 lines, placed at close intervals, entirely covering the vertical surface of a stone.
 Most of the incised stones are so corrugated. Tier two on the south side
 of the langi, however, contains four adjoining stones that are covered with
 simple but effective geometrical designs composed of perpendicular lines,
 diagonal lines, and chevrons, arranged in alternating groups or in more com-
 plex series. The pecked technique involves a very smooth execution. What-
 ever the original purpose of the figures may have been, the effect produced

is pleasingly decorative. The designs are much like those on modern tapas (Pl. III, C; fig. 41, a). 172
531
764

Two pecked figures occur on the walls of the langi Tauhala (p. 55), both situated, though not immediately together, on the second stone from the southwest corner on the westernmost side. One figure consists of nine dots arranged in three lines of four, three, and two each. The other is made up of five, parallel, diagonal lines of equal length attached at corresponding ends to a vertical line (fig. 41, b). These figures have less of the appearance of purely decorative designs than those on the walls of Katoa.

Petroglyphs were also found on Nukulau (p. 48). One (fig. 41, c, 1) consists of a complex of oddly disposed straight lines and a single small circle. The technique of workmanship is the same as that of the other langi petro-

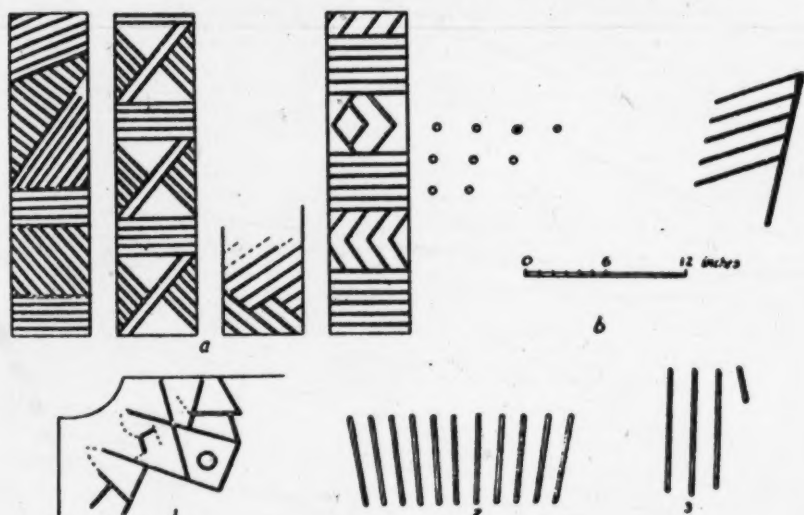


FIGURE 41.—Designs and petroglyphs: a, design incised on stones of langi Katoa; b, petroglyphs on langi Tauhala; c, petroglyphs on langi Nukulau—1, on northeast corner stone; 2, on easternmost wall; 3, on northernmost wall.

glyphs. Some of the lines are so faint as to be hardly recognizable. Although lacking design organization, it is quite conceivable that its original intent was decorative. Another petroglyph (fig. 41, c, 2) is a series of eleven nearly parallel lines of equal length slightly radiating upwards from an even horizontal base. This figure marks the left-hand corner of the outer vertical face

172 of the stone. A third petroglyph (fig. 41, c, 3) consists of three closely paral-
 531 lel, perpendicular lines of equal length with a fourth, shorter, diagonal line
 764 closely adjoining the right side of the group. On the stones of this langi are
 many other petroglyphs too poorly preserved to permit determining the detail
 of design. These all occur on the north and east sides.

[769] It seems probably that most of the langi designs served a decorative
 purpose, although their production may have involved other ideas. The langis
 were the sacred resting places of the divinely descended kings, and were
 protected by divinely enforced tapus. The Christian natives of today avoid
 them. It is therefore reasonably certain that no impromptu inclination or
 careless and frivolous motive on the part of amateurs is responsible for the
 production of these drawings. Rather, they must have been authorized de-
 tails of the langis. It is an interesting possibility that these designs are the
 172 initial products of a tendency towards the type of stone wall decoration
 531 so highly developed in some of the marae of the Marquesas (14, p. 133).

171 The Telekivavau petroglyphs are too simple and too few in number to
 constitute a basis for profitable comparison with the petroglyphs of other
 Oceanic provinces.

FORTIFICATIONS

FORMS

172 The Tongans built elaborate fortifications. If their strategical or political
 712 importance warranted it, towns, even small villages, were protected. Forti-
 fications were not always kept in good repair. When changing conditions
 decreased the danger of attack, forts were permitted to deteriorate and were
 not restored to defensive fitness until occasion made it appear necessary.

A fortification consisted of three essential elements: an earthen wall or
 embankment, several of them in some forts; a fence of upright posts or
 heavily reinforced reeds surmounting the embankment; a moat, in most
 forts dry, immediately surrounding the wall elements. Of less importance
 are lookout platforms and concealed pits serving as man-traps. Such a
 fort was called *kolo*, or if considered impregnable, *kokomalo*.

The construction of a *kolo* started with the digging of the moat, the earth
 from which was thrown up on the inside bank of the ditch to constitute
 the embankment, *akolo* (a fence), as high and broad as the ditch was deep
 and broad. The steep, outer slope of the wall merged without a break into
 the equally steep inner slope of the ditch. Narrow breaks in the ditch,
 usually adjoining corresponding narrow gateways (*mctanikolo*) in the wall,
 permitted ingress and egress from the area fortified. The walls and moats

3. Neafu, Vavau.

The remains of the fort at Neafu are still to be seen in places, but are too incomplete for accurate measurements. Mariner (16, p. 188) describes the building, possibly the rebuilding, of these defenses. According to his account, the inner ditch, which was 10 feet deep and 14 feet wide, was nearly completed in a single day and fencing and a second ditch, 10 feet deep and 18 feet wide, on the second day.

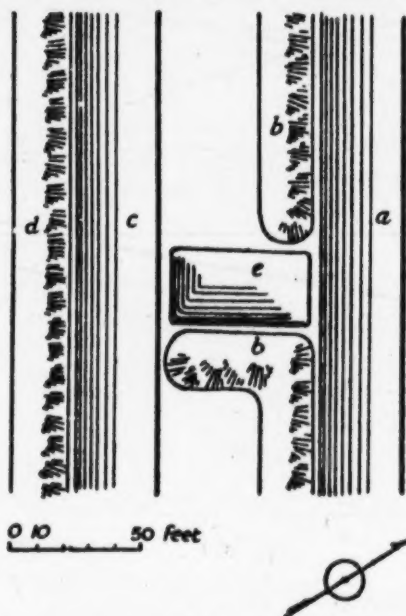


FIGURE 43.—Sketch showing detail of walls and moats on northeast side of fortifications at Feletoa: a, outer moat; b, outer wall; c, second moat; d, second wall; e, transverse moat between outer and second moat.

4. Velata, near the town of Pangai, island of Lifuka, Haapai, (fig. 44).

Although the area of the fort at Velata, including the fortification, is largely under cultivation, the structure is apparent throughout. Two earthen walls with accompanying moats separated by an interval of 33 to 35 yards, concentrically surround a roughly circular area. Four gateways cut directly through all obstructions to the interior of the enclosure.

A large *foitoko* (grave mound) placed directly across the outer wall near the southern gateway has the form of a truncated cone (fig. 44, f). It is definitely identified as a grave mound by the *hilihili* pebbles and fine, light colored sand which mark its upper surface. An artificial well near this mound has the typical conical shape. A low oval bank of sand crossing the outer wall of the fortification near the western gateway is said to be the remains of a *foitoko*, but no evidence was found to support the state-

USE OF CAVES

172 There is evidence of a twofold use of caves in Tonga. Use for tempor-
 342 ary shelter and places of hiding was to be expected and warrants no lengthy
 discussion. The use of caves as burial places, however, deserves more care-
 172 ful consideration as it is contrary to recent customs and traditions, and not
 764 altogether in harmony with the usual primitive methods of burial. It is in-
 171 interesting to note in this connection that the Fijians sometimes buried their
 dead in caves (28, vol. 1, p. 186). Moreover, no accounts of cave burials
 in Samoa were found—negative evidence hardly appropriate to use as an
 173 argument for Fijian origin of cave burial. Tongans usually account for
 the occurrence of skeletal material in caves by stories of wartime refugees
 who lived and died there, or who were tracked to their hiding places and
 killed there. The remains are usually laid out with great care, however, and
 172 in no way suggest a scene of final retribution. Referring to a cave burial
 764 which he saw at Toula, Vavau, West (27, p. 186) says: "The native guide
 766 informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary
 places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies
 were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand." On the other
 hand, the skeletal material which I obtained from a cave burial on the island
 of Kau, Haapai, was found by Sullivan (21) to be similar in type to material
 from regular burial places. This suggests that these people were not for-
 eigners in any radical racial sense. The available evidence seems to indicate
 that some strangers and foreigners may have been buried in caves, in dis-
 tricts where caves were available, and that other caves were used as burial
 sites by refugees for their dead.

172 The caves Anapusi (Cat-cave), Poutaha (Single-post) and Anakumete-
 342 kava (Stone-kava-bowl-cave), situated near the western top of a low hill
 south of Maofanga, Tongatabu, were traditionally used as dwelling places
 825 or temporary shelters. Cat-cave is so named on account of some owls that
 are said to live there and to have the supernormal power of assuming the form
 of cats at will. Single-post-cave derives its name from a limestone column
 which supports the entrance roof. A concave stone, said to have been found
 in Stone-kava-bowl-cave, accounts for its name. All of these caves are un-
 172 comfortably small as places of residence. Nevertheless, refugees from the
 342 fighting forces of George I Tupou are said to have hidden there. They bear
 726 no evidence of prolonged occupation.

A cave called Analahi (Large-cave) penetrates the precipitous face of
 the northeastern shore of Eua, Tongatabu. It is said that a group of Euan
 refugees lived here for a considerable length of time, the only means of
 access to the cave being so difficult that a single man could guard it against

an army. These refugees were finally starved out and were all killed in attempting to leave the place. Examination found the cave to be a series of four connected caves, owing their origin to erosion in limestone. They were large, roomy, well protected from the elements, and accessible only by a single, difficult trail. The irregular stone floor was covered in places by a thin stratum, 0.2 feet thick, of mingled sand, ash, and charcoal. Some seashells and a few bones of small birds and fish were present in this material.

The following Tongan caves contain burials:

1. Anaotua (Gods-cave), penetrating the low cliff facing the sea just below the town of Toulā, Vavau.

Over the floor of this large cave is a stratum of fine white sand, of a kind not found in any natural formation on this part of the coast. This artificial stratum is of barely sufficient thickness to cover the human remains found buried there. Recently large quantities of this sand have been removed for use in making grave mounds in the modern cemetery at Toulā. No native information regarding the cave burials could be obtained.

2. Makatapunitapā (*maka*, stone; *tapuni*, to shut, to put a lid upon; *matapa*, doorway, entrance), on the volcanic island of Late, on the outskirts of the Haapai group.

This cave was not visited. According to reports, it is a large sepulchral cave artificially floored with white sand, upon which the dead have been laid out in rows. The mouth of the cave is said to be sealed by means of a large, rectangular, vertically placed slab of stone, occupying a central position in the opening, and several smaller slabs placed at either side. Some of these smaller slabs have been displaced, allowing entrance to the tomb.

This account seems plausible to me as I examined a similar sepulcher on the neighboring island of Kau—also of volcanic origin. Here a large surface lava bubble had been broken into from the side to an extent sufficient to admit a man, by means of crawling, into the hollow interior. This chamber was 11 feet long, 8 feet wide and 3.5 feet high. A steep slope of broken rock and debris led down from the opening to the cave floor, which was smoothly covered with a light colored sand. A transverse wall of small, rectangular stones separated the mixed material, descending from the entrance, from the sand floor. Eight groups of skeletal material, probably representing eight burials, lay on the sandy floor of the cave. The entrance had been externally sealed by means of a large flat stone which had been removed previous to my visit. The buried material showed signs of having been disturbed, but most of the bones were in a fairly good state of preservation. The only artifacts found associated with the skeletal material were five tubular beads fashioned from the wing bones of some fairly large bird.

3. Small cave in the side of the hill called Mouna, near the town of Nomuka, island of Nomuka, Haapai.

The human bones found in this cave had been so disturbed by recent vandalism that the meaning implied by their occurrence was entirely lost.

- 4-5. Anapeka, at Maifi, and Anafakaata, at Haasini, Tongatabu.

These two caves are floored with a fine white sand said to be foreign to the immediate vicinity. Human bones, resting on this sand, appear to be the remains of burials.

- 172 6. Fangavahe, a cave under the hill Hufangalupe, near Vaini, island of
764 Tongatabu, is reported to contain human bones.
7. Large cave in the shore cliff just west of Hooouma, island of Eua.

172 According to one story, the human bones found in the cave near Hooouma are
764 the remains of a party of war refugees who had been discovered in their hiding place.
173 Their enemies built a fire before the cave mouth and those within all died from suffo-
cation. This story is told of various caves scattered all over the Tongan group. It
seems to be a favorite means of accounting for the presence of bones in caves. A more
reliable informant stated that the cave was a burial place and that the bodies had
originally been placed in rows. The presence of an apparently artificial stratum of white
sand on the cave floor, under the bones, suggests burial.

LAPAHA, THE KING'S VILLAGE

172 The village of Mua, situated on the shore of a lagoon, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles
361 southeast of Nukualofa, was for many generations the seat of Tongan govern-
ment. As such, it was the center of Tongan life and culture, and remains the
richest spot in archaeological monuments in the entire archipelago.

172 Information regarding the ancient plan of the town was obtained from
124 old men and women who have long resided there, some of them the direct
descendants of individuals whose official business it was to keep track of just
such information. The ranking direct descendant of the last Tui Tonga was
one of the chief informants. Another source of information is the consider-
172 able mass of mythological material assembled by Gifford (13). Personal
127 observations produced the measurements and descriptions of the existing
126 remains of ancient structures.

172 Mua is divided into two districts (fig. 46). The northern half including
175 the area known as Maolunga is the ancient Lapaha, the southern half is the
361 comparatively recent addition called Tatakamotonga. Lapaha was divided
[643] between the Tui Tonga, the ruling dynasty for many generations, and the Tui
Haatakalaua, a chiefly family closely related to the Tui Tonga, who dominated
the political life of Tonga for a period preceding the rise of the Tui Kano-
kupolu, the present dynasty.

Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 282-283) contributes the following interesting descrip-
tion of Lapaha:

[342] The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the
[351] inlet, where all, or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his
house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants.
These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one
entrance. This is by a door, fastened, on the inside, by a prop of wood; so that a person
has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads, and narrow lanes, lie between
[363] each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these
[351] inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for
ornament than use. . . . There are some large houses near the public roads, with spa-
cious smooth grass-plots before them, and inclosed. These, I was told, belonged to
the king; and, probably, they are the places where their public assemblies are held.

172
361 through its center. The yard of the Catholic church occupies a part of its
[363] western half and other modern houses and fenced-in yards now cross its
[368] boundaries. A few *ovava* trees are still standing and the roots of the tree
[137] Manau are still to be seen.

172 Southeast of the *malae* is the mound called Takuilau (*taku*, Fijian term
34 meaning land at the back of a mountain; *i*, in; Lau, a group of islands in
[368] Fiji). This is a circular mound of sand, with irregular surface nearly 50
yards in base diameter, where, some say, were buried all refuse materials
[643] intimately pertaining to the physical body of the Tui Tonga. Blood from
wounds, hair, vomit or anything else that was considered to be a severed part
of the kingly body was carefully preserved and buried in this sand pile. From
another source comes the contradictory statement that Takuilau was the
house-mound of the Tui Tonga Fefine, the oldest sister of the Tui Tonga.
[342] This mound, however, is entirely unlike any house-mound observed in Tonga.
Not only is its shape different but Tongan house-mounds were not built of
sand unless the foundation and the land immediately adjoining were also of
sand. This mound, on the other hand, has much the appearance of a burial
place.

172 Immediately north of the *malae* was a broad clearing, having much the
361 appearance of a broad road. It appears to have had no name but is said to
have been 15 to 20 "fathoms" (about 100 feet) in width and to have been
lined by large *ovava* trees.

172 The northern part of the fortified area is occupied by four great stone
368 langis of the Tui Tonga (pp. 39, 56, 58).

644 Just west of these tombs was an area called Fanakava. Its boundaries
cannot now be determined, but it is said that one side touched the langis and
that the other side merged into the great clearing. Fanakava was a rectangular
and oblong area covered by a grassy turf. Some describe it as surrounded
by a reed fence, others as without a fence. It was a *malae* of the Tui Tonga,
where he occasionally presided over his kava circle. There was no house,
priest, or guardian of this place, yet there was one peculiar, religious tradition
[696] associated therewith. Within its boundaries refugees from retribution were
safe from attack (12).

172 There is every indication that the old road did not follow the course of
363 the present highway through Mua. Rather, it avoided the fortified area,
passing south and east of the embankment and extending east and northeast to
parallel the eastern margin of the row of langis.

172 Outside the fortification, the langis continue as two parallel rows comprising
368 13 structures. North of these two rows are two other langis. On
764 the flat outside of the ancient shore line are two langis, 50 feet south of which
is a large *faitoka* with the lids of two stone vaults exposed to view on its

McKern—Tongan Archaeology

superior surface. All of these langis, 4 inside and 17 outside of the fortified area, are considered as being in Lapaha (pp. 36-61). 97 172 368 764

Maolunga includes the dwelling house, outbuildings and burial place of the Tui Haatakalaua family, said to have been first built and occupied by Moungamotua, the first Tui Haatakalaua, and the younger brother of Tui Tonga Kauulufonuafeikai. 172 644 368 362

The dwelling house called Fonuamotu was a large thatched building of the better class standing upon a low, earthen *paepae* about 50 yards from the present shore line. 172 644 342 362

Southwest of this house stood a mound called Nukukausia which formed the *paepae* of the house called Falesinifu (House-of-concubines) where the common wives of the chieftain dwelt. As it appears today this mound is essentially a rectangular platform of earth, 110 feet long, 75 to 91 feet wide, 3 feet high on its land side, and 8 feet above the bottom of the lagoon. More than half of the mound stands out from the shore upon subaqueous foundations. Its sides are faced with loosely piled coral stones, many of large size. Some of the slabs are dressed and others show a rude smoothing. The eastern wall of the mound is so sloping as to permit walking up the incline. The inclination of the other three walls is about 70°. 172 342

Immediately south of Nukukausia is a somewhat similar platform, 35 feet wide. On the lagoon side where the structure just overlaps the low-tide mark, its top is 3.5 feet above the lagoon bottom; on the land side the height is 2.3 feet. The vertical retaining walls are built partly of rough stones and partly of dressed slabs. In the seaward wall, close to the north-western corner of the platform, is a large, flat, circular stone, 1 foot thick and 10 feet in diameter, a natural coral growth known as brain-coral or mushroom-coral. The stone stands on edge 6.5 feet above the top of the platform. It is called Filimoimaka, the name of the chieftain who brought it from near Kolonga and presented it as a gift to the Tui Haatakalaua. Its purpose and use seem to have been purely ornamental. On this mound stood the house which served as the cohabital house of the chieftain and his common wives. No general name for this type of house, or specific name for this particular house, could be found. 644 362

From the western end of Nukukausia and extending out into the lagoon is an irregular pile of large, rough, coralline rocks about 25 feet in width and 500 to 600 feet in length, called Mounu. The formation is undoubtedly artificial. A common story accounts for this rocky isle as built up from the discarded oven-stones of the great sailing vessel *Lomipeau*, the boat that is reputed to have brought stone slabs from Wallis Island as material for one of the large langis. Another account explains this pile of stones as the beginning of a causeway that the Tui Tonga Pau started to build across the lagoon. 172 34 361 173 34

172 from Mua to the Tukutonga point east of Nukualofa (p. 18). The first
173 account needs no comment; the second is highly improbable.
34

172 About 50 feet southeast of Nukukaualua is a circular, round topped sand
764 mound, 40 feet in base diameter and 3 feet high. It is the burial mound
(368) (*faitoka*) where the common wives of the Tui Haatakalaua were buried.
(644)

A few yards northeast of this *faitoka* is the low, oval, earthen mound
172 where the house called *Falekilikili* formerly stood. This house served as a
344 place where the small, black, volcanic pebbles called *kilikili*, used in decorating
(368) grave mounds, were sorted and oiled previous to use. Ordinarily this house
(764) was tapu to every one. Only after a death in the Tui Haatakalaua family
(644) were the old women from among the chieftain's retainers permitted to enter
this house and perform the duties associated with it. Close to the north side
172 of *Falekilikili* was a shallow, funnel-shaped well where the old women
312 washed their hands after oiling the *kilikili* stones.

The inlet from the lagoon is now nothing more than a small mangrove
172 swamp, but anciently it is said to have contained sufficient water to permit
133 large, double-hulled sailing vessels to enter and anchor. Traces of stone
172 work about the edges of this swamp suggest that the channel was at least
503 partly artificial. The stones seen are dressed coral slabs, generally showing
only their tops above ground at the swamp edge.

In the center of the inlet, opposite the *faitoka*, there is a small island
172 called *Vakaniua*. It was at this island that the sailing vessel of the Tui
(133) Haatakalaua was moored when at the home port. The island derived its
(504) name from the boat, the name being progressively handed down from one
boat to its successor. The original boat derived its name from having carried
(552) the chieftain *Fotofili* to the island of *Niuafoou*, north of the *Vavau* group.

About 50 yards east of the house *Fonuamotu* stood the house called *Tuku-*
172 *motafa*, the dwelling of *Lauaki*, ranking *matapule* (non-chieftly official) in the
342 suite of the Tui Haatakalaua. It is now marked by an earthen *paepae* of the
644 usual shape with its major axis about 35 feet long.
(362)

About half way between the house of the chieftain and that of his ranking
172 *matapule* was the chieftain's bathing place, called *Malama*. It is a funnel-
312 shaped, circular basin about 20 feet in diameter, said originally to have been
(368) one "fathom" deep but now not more than 2 feet deep and quite dry. It is
not known whether the bath was naturally supplied with water, which would
necessarily be brackish, or was filled with rain water from the roofs of the
houses, said to have been the source of supply of many of these bathing
places.

172 The cemetery of the Tui Haatakalaua lay inside the ancient shore line.
764 It now consists of four stone-walled burial platforms, collectively called
(368) *Loamanu*, a name derived from the largest of the burial structures. (See
p. 58.)

BURIAL MOUND

172 About 200 yards north of the kitchen midden, 50 yards from the western shore of Pangaimotu, an excavation was made in a circular, flat-topped mound, 50 feet in diameter at the base, 24 feet in diameter at the top, and 4 feet in height. The mound was covered with brush and a few trees, including a large hala (*fala*; *Pandanus*), a sago palm (*longolongo*), and a coconut estimated to be 50 years of age.

172 All the informants consulted previous to excavating agreed that the place was not a burial mound, but the *paepae* upon which there formerly stood a god-house of the god Tui Haafakafanua. The exact date of the destruction of this house is not known, but Takai, a Tongan hero-chieftain belonging to the era immediately preceding that of George I Tupou, and who lived for a time on Pangaimotu, is said to have refused to build his house upon this mound because it had been the dwelling place of a god. The house must have disappeared previous to that time, probably early in the nineteenth century.

172 A trench 4 feet in width was cut more than half way through the center of the mound. From this trench, smaller excavations were made on either side, wherever it seemed advisable. Excavation confirmed the story that the mound had been used as a dwelling site.

172 A surface layer, averaging nearly 1 foot in thickness, is heavily charged with ash and charcoal. This layer produced two buried earth ovens, a quantity of burnt coral oven-rock, many marine shells, many bones of small vertebrates, and a few artifacts. The ovens measured respectively, 2.1 feet in diameter, 0.9 foot in depth, and 3.3 feet in diameter, 1 foot in depth. The artifacts consist of: (a) three fragments of bone thatching needles; (b) the half of a segment from the center of a left, human femur, split straight and evenly, but without tool marks; (c) two smooth, black, volcanic pebbles, of the type commonly used for decorating grave mounds, found at the very base of the layer of household refuse; (d) two small potsherds. (See p. 115.) This refuse layer also produced some pig bones, not in coordinating relative position, but grouped within a very small area.

172 Under the surface layer, the mound is composed of light-colored, clean sand, entirely unlike the dark, loamy soil which constitutes the surrounding surface and the foundation upon which the mound rests. Buried in this sand were found skeletal material representing 11 individuals; 8 adults in a fairly good state of preservation, and 3 children very poorly preserved (fig. 47,a). All the skeletons were disposed prone on the back with arms and legs extended parallel with the major axis of the body and with no definite orientation. Most of the individual remains had been entered at different times, as in other burial grounds. Two burials were directly above an earlier burial, although not in actual contact and orientated differently. The skeletons were found 1 foot to 3 feet below the surface of the mound; the average depth was 2 feet. In a superposed burial, one adult rested directly upon another, without interval, and both were orientated with heads to the northwest. The top burial was in markedly better condition than the bottom. One of the earth ovens described was situated directly above a burial, its rim top 0.4 foot below the mound surface. The condition of the bones varied greatly. Many were fairly well preserved while others were in an advanced state of decomposition. The bones of the children, as might be expected,

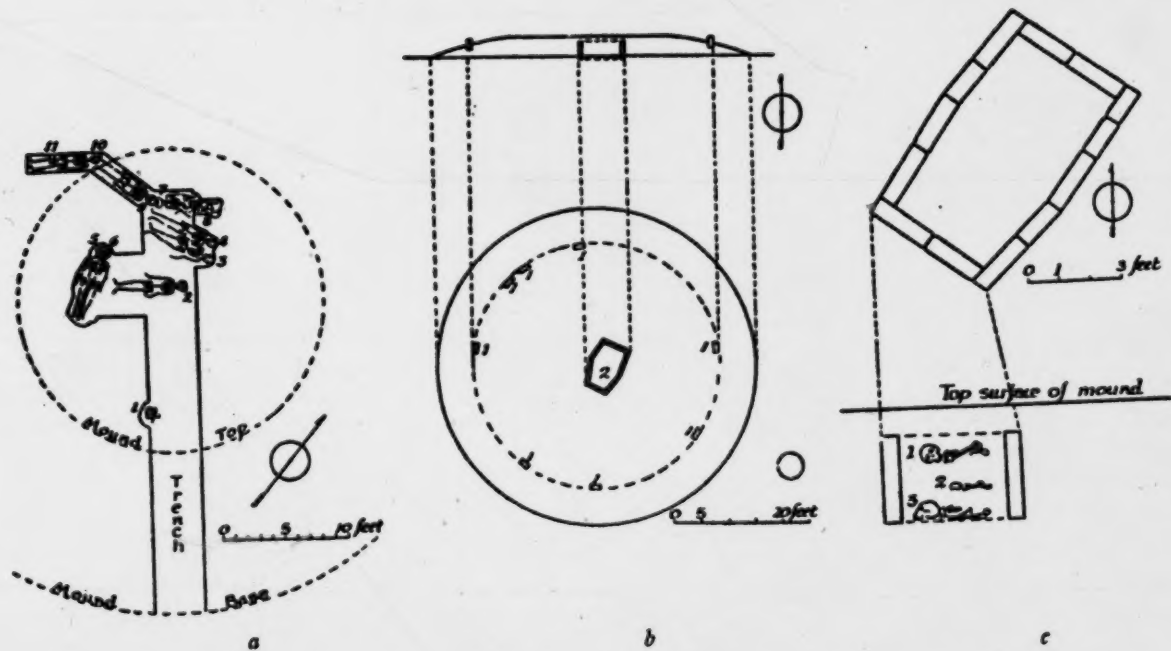


FIGURE 47.—a, Plan of excavations in mound on Pangaimotu Island, showing position of burials; b, c, burial mound on island of Motutapu: b, general plan—1, monumental stones; 2, slab vault—c, vault and position of burials.

172 were particularly fragile. No artifacts of any kind were found with the burials, although a dark discoloration of the sand immediately surrounding each burial may have been caused partially by the decay of perishable materials placed with the dead.

172 There can be no doubt that the surface of the mound was covered with a layer of kitchen refuse, thus confirming the statement that the mound was at one time the site of a god-house, the dwelling house of a priest. Cooking [252] was never undertaken in Tonga within the house, but the mound was sufficiently large to accommodate both house and cooking place. The condition of the ovens indicates that they were not used at a very recent date.

It is equally evident that the body of the mound constituted a burial place. All facts point toward a rather primitive interment. The condition of the skeletal material was comparatively good, in spite of a wet climate conducive to rapid decay. The position of the burials above the level of the surrounding land, and the sandy material surrounding the bones, combine to establish ideal drainage conditions and to favor long preservation. There were no signs of intermingling of the kitchen refuse with the clean sand body of the mound. A sharp line of demarkation extends between the two elements throughout the excavated area. The fact that the burials preceded the deposit of the surface stratum is emphasized by the occurrence of an earth oven directly over two of the skeletons.

If the traditional account is to be credited, the surface deposit of the mound had been completed previous to the middle of the nineteenth century, but nothing positive can be said concerning the age of the bottom of the kitchen deposit. Such deposits may accumulate rapidly in Tonga, owing [262] [354] not only to the great number of marine shellfish eaten by the natives, but more especially to the fact that the coral oven-stones had to be replaced after two or three bakings. On the other hand, examination of a kitchen midden on this same island (p. 102) produced evidence that a very thin deposit of such refuse could represent an appreciable passage of time.

The question arises as to the length of time elapsing between the last burial and the erection of the god-house. In consideration of the great respect shown by the Tongans towards the dead, it is hard to believe that even a god-house would have been built upon a known burial site. This consideration suggests that the house was not built until the inhabitants ceased to remember the mound as a place of burial and, therefore, the interments appear to have been at least prehistoric. According to Sullivan (21), the bones are Polynesian in type. The pottery found in this mound is discussed on pages 115-116.

EUA SITES

133 The island of Eua, ten miles southeast of Tongatabu, is 30 miles in circumference and more than 1000 feet in maximum height. On the northwest

- 172 Two vertical pits were sunk in the floor of the cave to depths of 3.1 feet
121 and 3.2 feet, respectively. Bedrock was encountered. The first shaft was
3 feet by 3.5 feet square, the second was 2.2 feet wide and 8 feet long.
Both excavations may be described as a unit.

- 172 A hard surface layer, about 0.7 foot thick, is very rich in carbonaceous materials.
Below this is a loosely packed mass of earth, 2 to 2.2 feet thick, very rich in whitish
ash and burnt coral oven-rock. It rests upon a thin layer of yellowish gravel, which
in turn, rests upon bedrock. The entire formation is horizontally stratified. The top
layer contained many carbonized shells of the *tuitui* nut, a few bones of fish and of
small land vertebrates, and a few scraps of iron of undoubted recent source. The
thick under-layer produced, besides quantities of oven-stones, many marine shells and
a few bones of fish and of small land vertebrates. A small potsherd was found 2 feet
below the surface, near the bottom of the deposit. No other artifacts were found.

As for Cave 1, the data for Cave 2 are meager, but tend to establish a
line between the period of intensive pottery use and the period of contact
with European culture.

MOTUTAPU SITES

BURIAL PLACES

- 133 The low island of Motutapu, about 2 miles north of the eastern end of
Tongatabu, is about one-half mile in length, and one-quarter mile in width.
166 The present native inhabitants are not descendants of the former Motutapu
people and, therefore, know nothing of the traditional history or mythology
of the place.

- 172 Near the center of the island, close to the southeast shore, was found a
circular, flat-topped earthen mound 55 feet in diameter at the base, 43 feet
in diameter across the flat top, and 3.5 feet high, giving the sides a slope
of about 30° (fig. 47, b). The surface of the mound appeared to be a mix-
ture of sand and dark, loamy soil. Around the margin of the flat top,
forming an outlining circle, is a series of flat, coralline slabs, irregularly
spaced, roughly dressed, each planted in a vertical position. Some of these
stones stand only a few inches above the ground. They average 0.5 foot
in thickness and a little more than 1 foot in length. The largest is 1.9 feet
in height, 2 feet in length, and 0.6 foot in thickness. Excavation started
172 at the central top of the mound soon discovered the upper edges of what
764 proved to be a stone burial enclosure (fig. 47, c).

The burial place consisted of a dozen rectangular, coral slabs set up vertically on
edge to form a six-sided, somewhat coffin-shaped compartment. The two parallel ends
of this compartment are, respectively, 5 feet and 4.5 feet in length and are placed
8 feet apart. The sides form a slight outward angle in connecting the two ends. Ends
and sides are 0.5 to 0.6 foot thick. The horizontal plane defined by the tops of these

stones is 0.9 foot below the surface of the mound and the lower edges of the stones extends 0.3 foot into the indigenous soil. The stones were carefully dressed, showing straight, fairly smooth surfaces and well defined edges. They were invariably placed with the major axis vertical, and fitted together so tightly, edge to edge, as to exclude all interval. The corners were lapped evenly, with no apparent regard as to which stone was outside in the lapping. The largest stone is 3.1 feet high, 2 feet wide, and 0.6 foot thick. The average size of the stones is not much less. 172
764

The area inside the vault, if this floorless, lidless, solidly filled structure may be so designated, was found to contain fine, clean, light-colored sand to a depth of 3.7 feet, where it encounters the natural soil upon which the mound rests. The remains of three adult burials were found in this sand: one 1.1 feet below the mound surface; another beside the first at a depth of 1.4 feet; and the third immediately below the second at a depth of 2 feet. The skeletal material was in such an advanced state of decomposition that no additional data were obtainable. No artifacts were found. The stained spots in the sand surrounding the bones, characteristic of the burial site examined on Pangaimotu (p. 106), were not observed here.

The type of burial found at Motutapu is not known elsewhere in Tonga. The stones suggest the stone vault ordinarily present in chiefly burial places, but the detail of the structure is entirely different. It might be assumed that the structure represents an early stage in the development of the vault, but the occurrence of stone vaults elsewhere in Oceania suggests caution in formulating theories of local development. The structure might just as well be a retrogressive type of vault as a precursory type. The coffin-shape of the enclosure might even be due to European influence. This is improbable, however, as there is no record of the burial of any historic chieftain on Motutapu, and no such pains would have been taken in preparing the grave of one of less than chiefly rank. A local development of the stone vault idea might explain the unique features of this burial site. [71]

The condition of the bones suggest long burial, but the influence of the stone enclosure upon the state of preservation is uncertain. Water, seeping into the loose sand after heavy rains, could escape but slowly through the joints of the close-fitting stones and the packed natural surface below. The bones would be, therefore, more or less water-soaked during the rainy season of each year. This would tend to accelerate the rapidity of their decomposition. 172

All that can be said, therefore, is that this is a unique type of stone-walled burial place, probably preceding the innovation of European culture. [764]

KITCHEN MIDDEN

About 100 yards northeast of the burial place on Motutapu Island is a sand dune with its flattened top noticeably rich in charcoal and ash materials. A vertical pit 5 feet square was sunk into this deposit near its center. [121]

The first foot of material removed consisted of characteristic kitchen refuse, containing much light-colored ash, charcoal, burnt coral oven-rock, and not a few bones of

172 volcanic oven-stones are present. A volcanic stone will serve in an oven
[354] for an indefinite period of time. It therefore marks a deposit where the
accumulation of materials may have been slow. It logically follows that the
close intervals between the many pieces of pottery is due to a very gradual
deposit of the material which contained them. The very fragmentary con-
dition of the pottery, and the large number of these pieces that would be
required to reconstruct one pot, must also be taken into consideration. It
might be argued that a very few pots could have supplied all the material
taken from the excavation. Such a contention, however, entirely disregards
the stratification data, and is completely controverted by the variety of rim
shapes which the specimens show (fig. 49).

The increased quantity of pottery near the center of the deposit would
seem to reflect the time of maximum population of the site, although it
might be interpreted to indicate the time of maximum use of pottery, re-
gardless of population.

172 The head of the Seventh Day Adventists Mission was certain that the
764 surface of this mound has been plowed frequently within the last genera-
tion. This accounts for the lack of stratification in the top 0.7 foot of the
deposit, and renders the mixed occurrence there of pottery, ash, clean sand,
marine shells, and human bones void of importance. There is doubt as to
whether any potsherds rightfully belong on the surface. The skeletal
material certainly represents shallow burials, or surface burials covered
with transported sand. Surface burials seem likely, unless the mound was
a great deal higher at one time than it is now. Whatever the mode of
burial, the association of the skeletal material with pottery does not estab-
lish any cultural relationship.

According to Tui Vakano, the human bones mark the remains of
burials made at this site after the first battle between George I of Tonga
and the rebels of Pea, probably disposing of the dead from the loyal army.
The burials were therefore historic in period.

172 3. On the shore of the lagoon immediately northwest of Johanson's
121 store at Mua. It was particularly desirable to find some deposit of human
refuse worthy of excavation at Mua, the ancient residence of the old dynasty
of Tongan kings, as this was the center of native culture for many gen-
erations preceding European discovery of the archipelago. The deposit
found, although not a highly promising one, is rich in ash and charcoal,
and horizontally stratified.

172 The site of the kitchen midden is a low, vertical exposure. In excavating, a strip
[121] was removed lengthwise with the embankment, 7 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet
deep. Only the top 0.7 foot produced kitchen refuse materials, including 12 small
potsherds. The remainder of the exposed column of earth consisted of soil which was
representative of adjoining natural formations and which rested upon characteristic,

clean beach sand. The only interesting material found at this site was pottery (p. 172). There is no evidence of European contact.

BURIAL PLACES

1. At langi Tamatou (p. 55), a fortunate and unexpected opportunity affording itself, it was decided to excavate this structure, hoping thereby to determine the nature of the stone vault, to obtain specimens of primitive artifacts, to acquire data on burial methods, and to substantiate or confound the truth of the tradition that a wooden image constituted the only burial therein. 172 121

The opportunity for investigation was limited in scope of time to a single day. Consequently, the maximum available force of men, under the direct orders of a high Tongan chieftain, was set to work. The consent of these men to participate in such labor was only obtained through chiefly command. 172 114 122

In an endeavor to locate a vault, or burial deposit, holes 4 to 5 feet deep were sunk at intervals of 6 feet into the top of the mound. A large pocket of fine, light-colored sand, such as invariably surrounds native burials, was encountered near the center of the examined area. This pocket was extensively and carefully excavated but produced nothing. Further excavation produced equally negative results. 172 121

It is remarkable that such an extensive and well built stone structure, designed to be used as a king's cemetery, should lack a stone vault. According to tradition, all such structures are so equipped, and many of them are known to contain vaults. It is equally certain that Tamatou has no vault. 172 764

This tomb belongs to the small series of stone tombs preceding the great stone langis which occur so numerous in ancient Lapaha (p. 96). There is reason to believe that it is among the first stone langis to be built in Tonga and the absence of a vault tends to question the ancient existence of stone vaults in Tonga. Investigation on a scale and of a nature that present native standards will not tolerate would be required to furnish an intelligent answer to this question. 128

My stubborn presumption in calling this structure a tomb, in spite of the negative evidence, seems justified by the extensive mythological reference to the place. Tradition states that no man was buried there and excavation supported this statement. A failure to locate the wooden doll said to have been buried there was to have been expected. The figure is said by some to have been made of the soft wood of the fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), a material that would disintegrate and be lost in the surrounding soil in a relatively short length of time. 172 764 173

2. At langi Folokamanu.

There is reason to believe that Folokamanu is one of the oldest langis in Tonga (p. 69). A daughter of one of the early kings is said to have been buried here. 172 764

172
764
[121] In excavating, an initial attempt was made to locate a stone vault. No vault was found. By means of 69 feet of trenching averaging 5.3 feet deep, the central interior of the mound was shown to consist of fine, light-colored sand, including red coral sand of a variety to be found only on certain of the beaches of Vavau. Surrounding this central body of choice sand was an inferior grade of sand, although this too was clean and evidently of artificial placement.

Skeletal material was found in the central body of sand. One skeleton of an adult was found 2 feet below the surface of the mound, situated in a central position (fig. 48). The body had been disposed prone on the back, extended, with the head to the north-west. Immediately over this burial were the scattered and fragmentary remains of another, or other burials. According to all indications, the fragmentary material, which was in a very poor state of preservation, had been removed in excavating for the burial of the individual represented by the intact skeleton. Following this intrusive burial, the scattered bones of the disturbed burial had been indiscriminately thrown back into the burial pit on top of the new interment. No artifacts were found associated with the bones.

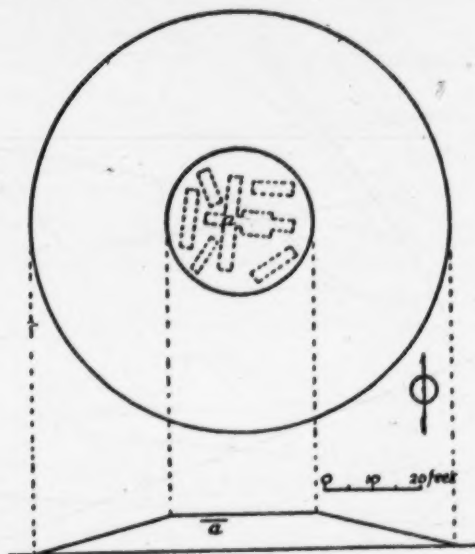


FIGURE 48.—Plan of excavations at langi Folokamanu: a, site of burials, dashed lines show position of trenches dug during exploration.

[128] The investigation of Folokamanu tends to support the conclusion that the early tombs in Tonga did not contain vaults; that vaults, whether introduced or of local invention, were included in the langi structure as a relatively late innovation. Such a conclusion is in need of much supporting evidence where it has but a little. My only apology is that other evidence, either positive or negative, is not available.

McKern—Tongan Archaeology

121

The problem of the origin of stone construction in Tonga is one of special interest because of a possible relationship between the masonry of Tonga and of other provinces in Oceania. Of structures in dressed stone which are found in many south Pacific islands, and of which even fairly accurate descriptions are available, those of Fiji seem to be closest in type to those of Tonga. I do not mean to include all Tongan and all Fijian structures in such a comparison, but the platform tomb with slab vault occurs in both Tonga and Fiji, as do less important structures and a great many technical processes and resultant effects involved in the stone mason's art. At present there is no way of determining whether the art of masonry was carried from Tonga to Fiji, or contrawise, although it is highly probable that each profited from the ideas of the other during later stages of development. A strong cultural connection cannot be denied. The abrupt, initial occurrence of stone masonry, in a highly developed stage, during the reign of Tui Tatui, as indicated by native tradition, suggests an introduction at that time of the art into Tonga from some outside source; the same traditions definitely describe a Fijian intrusion at that time. A study of the stone structures of Tonga tends to support the general truth of these traditions to a remarkable degree.

There is little similarity between the dressed stone structures of Samoa, such as they exist, and those of either Tonga or Fiji, in spite of the close cultural and racial ties connecting Tonga and Samoa. A few, rather superior Samoan structures were probably built by the Tongans during a period of Tongan political dominance over her larger relative. Excluding these structures from consideration, Samoan masonry was peculiarly different from the more highly developed stone craft of Tonga. A basic majority of the culture traits of Tonga appear to have had their immediate origin in Samoa, which was certainly settled long before Tonga. Tongan and Samoan traditions both name Samoa as the ancestral home of the Tongans. From this it seems reasonably clear that Tongan masonry had a source different from that of Tongan basic culture.

The burial mound, as it occurs in Tonga, is not a characteristic feature of Samoa. In Fiji it occurs as a common form of burial place. The mound appears to have been the prototype from which the platform and pyramid tombs were developed. This, again, indicates Fiji as the probable source of Tongan stone work.

It may be argued that the art of masonry was more highly developed in Tonga than in Fiji, and is more likely to have originated in the country of its higher development. However, such a conclusion does not necessarily follow. The Tongans are historically known to have discarded their own large sailing vessel, the *tungiaki*, and to have adopted the superior Fijian *ndrua*. In the course of one generation the Tongans were not only building *kalua*, a *ndrua* type of vessel superior to the Fijian product, but were actually

172
333
171172
171
764
[333]172
171
333
[501]

172 being employed by the Fijians to build vessels (17). A similar specializa-
171 tion in stone work, under the encouragement of a favorable political state,
333 might in the same way have produced a technique superior to that of the
501 place from which the craft was introduced.

The importance of Fijian influence over Tongan culture is apparent in
172 aspects other than that of masonry. The fortifications of Tonga were less
171 like those of Samoa than like those of Fiji. Tongan pottery is certainly
[712] Fijian in origin and basic type; Samoa had no pottery. Tongan burial methods
[323] were much more like those of Fiji than of Samoa. The Tongan language
[764] has borrowed a considerable number of Fijian terms. This list of Fijian
[192] elements intrusively present in the culture of Tonga might be carried to a
tedious length.

There is nothing extraordinary in the tendency of Tonga to drift, cul-
172 turally, farther away from Samoa and closer to Fiji. The Samoans were
171 relatively peaceful; the Fijians were warlike. Tonga, possibly under the
648 influence of its political solidarity, became a power at war, and the mingled
admiration and sympathy of its young men of social prominence went to
Fiji rather than to Samoa. Fiji became the war college of Tonga, whose
young men were sent to this distant seat of interminable quarrels and petty
wars to acquire experience in the war parties of Fijian chieftains. Aside
from this, Samoa was a land of people and things similar to those of Tonga;
Fiji was a land of strange people and strange customs. The spirit of curiosity
and adventure, so apparent in the Tongan, attracted him to the new and
strange rather than to the more familiar and less exciting. He felt the lure
(501) of the unfamiliar, the enchantment of the strange land. The fact that Fiji
possessed a type of sailing vessel far superior to any in either Tonga or
Samoa, and the necessity for Tonga, with its hundred and more scattered
islands, to survive as a political unit only through a mastery of sea craft,
may have had an important bearing on the close cultural relationship which
sprang up between the two countries.

539 34. Hange ha tua-niu: Like the midrib of a coconut leaflet.
824 Used of thin persons or animals, and of small, thin things in general.
826

539 35. Hange ha vai fa: Like pandanus water.
824 The meaning is, scattered in all directions like the water dripping on all sides from the leaves of the pandanus during a shower of rain.

36. Hange ha vao masalu ngaue: Like a field of waving *masalu*.
The *masalu* is a small plant found in quantity on the prairies of the island of Eua. These plants stand close together, and when the wind blows graceful undulations pass over the surface of the field, not unlike the waves that pass through a field of standing wheat. Applies to graceful action. (Compare No. 179.)

539 37. Hange kuo kai teve: As though had eaten *teve* (*Amorpho-*
262 *phallus campanulatus*).

[137] This plant causes stinging and inflammation in the mouth, and may even bring on death. (A. Kramer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 384.) By proper treatment, however, it may be made fit for food. Used of one who has done something which he rues.

539 38. Heka he vaa mei popo: Getting on the branch (that is)
571 almost rotten.

This has its obvious application of depending on a weak support.

539 39. Hoko pe fau moe fau: Joining hibiscus with hibiscus, or
824 hibiscus coming after hibiscus.

[283] The comparatively tough inner bark of the wild hibiscus (*Hibiscus*
[551] *tiliaceus*) is frequently used as cord, and the expression for hibiscus to be followed by hibiscus is very commonly employed of a strong capable man in any position being followed by another whose qualifications are equally good. It is said that in former times when a Tui Tonga died the body was not buried in the usual way, but that the head and legs were cut off and replaced by the head and legs of another man slain for the purpose. Should this victim be a chief the joining of his head and legs to the trunk of the dead Tui Tonga was said to be a joining of the hibiscus with the hibiscus. There is actual tradition of a Tui Tonga whose body had been disfigured by a rail being supplied with limbs for burial by the devotion of another chief.

539 40. Hoko ae fau moe polata: Joining banana stem with hibiscus,
824 or banana stem coming after hibiscus.
554

643 This is the reverse of No. 39 and indicates a strong capable man
764 being succeeded by one of inferior qualifications. This, too, is referred
565 to the burial of the Tui Tonga. If the man who supplied the legs and head to be interred with the Tui Tonga's trunk were of low rank a piece

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs 53

of banana stem was said to be joined to the hibiscus. A strip of the banana stem of course makes a very poor ligature, being loose fibered and brittle.

539
824
554
643
764
565

41. Hu mata niu: Entering eye of nut.

There are three depressions at the top of the coconut, but only one of these marks a hole. The unskilled person might try to open the nut by piercing one or other of the two false eyes, but the experienced man goes for the right hole. Hence the expression means to get right on the spot, but is used in the bad, or at all events unpopular, sense of kindness confined to one's own immediate relatives or friends; kindness confined to one particular spot.

539
245

42. Kai kape fifi: Eating hoi kape (*Arum costatum*).

One who has eaten a piece of this root at the pungent stage of its growth will find his mouth so burnt that he will not be likely to join in the conversation and laughter of those about him. This picture of the man sitting silent with his stinging mouth is used of one who, ashamed of a wrong done by him, or for some such reason, sits taciturn in the company of others.

539
262
137
521

43. Koe vaavaa he koe tagata: Branchy, for 'tis man.

Man, with the wide and numerous ramifications of his relationships, is the most branchy of all things. "Do you call so-and-so a many branched thing? Why, it is nothing compared to man."

539
824
829

44. Malakia a moojipo: The moojipo trodden down.

This plant is frequently found in the road-ways, but lives on in spite of being walked upon. So the moojipo has passed into a proverb of that which bears up stoutly against ill-treatment and adversity; comes up smiling after every blow.

539
824
571

45. Mamalu a mohuku: Overshadowing of grass.

One is overshadowed by forest trees, and this means literally one who undertakes to make a clearing on land where apparently large trees are standing, and finds that the "trées" are but weak and easily cut plants, "mere grass." So of any task seemingly formidable which, when undertaken, proves easy.

539
461

46. Motu lou-tou: Broken tou leaf.

The leaf of the tou (*Cordia aspera*) is very brittle; a slight pull snaps the leaf completely asunder. So used of that which is broken right across, completely severed.

539
824
137

47. Nonofa ae makahunu moe niu motuu: The makahuna (hard volcanic rock) living with the ripe coconut.

These rocks were used for making the stone adzes and were handy for splitting open a coconut, and breaking it up if necessary. The phrase,

539
245

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs 127

ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. **Hange ha fononga Makave:** Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. **Tahataha e tama pea papala:** Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164 812

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad.

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. **Afia e mala kehe:** Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539 764

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 751 [584]

498. **Lau hono fala:** His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539 763

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) [585] [415] [482]

499. **Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka:** Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539 761

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him.

500. **Hange ha mata tae pokia:** Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

539 501. Hange ha mate mutukia: Like a cut off death.

761 *Mutukia* means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth
287 which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means
sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected
occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka: Beautiful like a cemetery.

764 People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks
it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that
which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort
that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 503. Noo ua poaki: Begging off being strangled.

768 Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other
183 circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This
taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarily evoked no
popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to
whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his
duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting
to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 504. Tala fai ki tano: Speech made to burying-ground.

764 Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the
521 cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said.
So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 505. To hono aveave: Plant his *aveave*.

764 A branch of the *aveave* (*Cordia variegata* Pratt), was stuck into
763 the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug.
When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to
put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business
it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial.
The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is
equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up
with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging
of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for
the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead,
though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In
recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail
had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who
survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood mean-
while on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be post-
poned till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in
and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 506. Tuui tae fakakava: Visiting mourners without kava.

765 In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it
276 is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with
574
431

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs

137

of the general behavior and ceremonial connected with dances, kava, and other matters whose chief center and exposition is in the Tui Tonga's court. To live in the midst of opportunity and yet to obtain little advantage from it. 539
644
276
535

549. Pulu e tuku: Easy with the rope; let down gently.

The *tuku* is in this instance the rope with which the slab was lowered on to the top of a vault. It is said that the man whose duty it was to arrange the body of a Tui Tonga in the vault would often try to steal one of the fine mats wound round the dead chief's body. To be able the better to accomplish this purpose he would endeavor to get one of his friends on the end of the rope with which the stone cover was lowered over the grave, and would adjure him to let down slowly. If he were shut in the grave he would have to stay there and die, as the vault could not be opened to let him out without imperilling the life of the new Tui Tonga who had just succeeded. 539
613
764

We have heard this phrase repeated with the addition "that I may live"; "Let down gently that I may live," which looks as though at one period the man who descended into the vault ran some danger of being shut in even without wasting time down below trying to steal valuables from the body of the chief. One might hazard the conjecture that it marks a transition from a period when the man who went down into the grave with the Tui Tonga always stayed there and that the story of the mat stealing is an invention of later times. In front of a row of Langis, or Tui Tonga vaults in Mua, Tongatabu, is a row of smaller vaults which are said to be the escorts to the larger Tui Tonga graves to which they are contiguous. It is stated that these vaults contain the bodies of the *matapules* of the Tui Tonga, though there is no statement that the *matapules* were made eligible for the grave for the special purpose of occupying their proper official position in the entourage of their dead chiefs. Sometimes the expression is enlarged, *Pulu ho tuku tata ho vae*, Let go gently with your rope, dig in your feet. [644]

Proverbially the expression means to go slowly and give one a chance of escape.

550. Sani Tungua: Tungua glory.

The island of Tungua, in the Haapai group, although it is tiny and out of the way, was yet the residence of the Tamaha, the child of the Female Tui Tonga the peak of Tongan nobility. The Female Tui Tonga also seems to have spent much time there. One of the two chiefs who were the usual mates for the Female Tui Tonga holds this island as part of his estates and the modern holders of the title have frequently resided there. All this chieftiness clinging about the islet of Tungua is the boast of its people but the expression "*Sani Tungua*," rather strangely, is used ironically of one who boasts of what he will do for another and what he will give to him but who has not the material backing to make good his words. The idea evidently is that the resources of the little island are not commensurate with its chiefly pretensions. 539
644
183
829

Tongan Astronomy and Calendar

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

From the exceedingly fragmentary and obscure accounts it appears that the Tongans possess but the vaguest notions of the heavens and of the relations of the sky to stars and sun and moon. They evidently thought of a number of skies, one above the other. One informant expressed the opinion that the number of skies was as great as one hundred. He also suggested a connection between the skies and the great burial vaults at Mua and elsewhere, and it is worthy of note that sky and vault are called by the same name, *langi*. The stars are said to be in the highest sky. 821 [764]

So far as I have been able to discover, the study of astronomy was treated by the Tongans as a branch of navigation. Certain it is that these bold and skilful mariners were keen observers of the heavens and that no small part of the equipment of the old sea captains was the ability, based rather on experience and judgment than on rules, to determine when to shift from one star or constellation and to set the course by another group. 502 [815]

Practically the whole of the available star lore of the Tongans is embraced in sailing directions written by the late Tukuaho, a high chief who was Premier of Tonga about thirty years ago. Tukuaho, fortunately, was an intelligent diarist who carefully wrote down what he heard. His account, copied with permission of his son Tungi, Consort of Her Majesty Queen of Tonga, has been followed in the preparation of this paper. 127

Few if any living Tongans are able to point to and name more than a very small proportion of the stars, and only in rare instances have I been able to identify the stars named. This rapid decay of the old astronomy is doubtless due to the universal use of the mariner's compass. Star lore was preserved by the old navigators, but there is no longer need to rely upon it. 821 502

[3] [p. 157]

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

79

were strangled at the Fiatooka, or burying place, at the time his body was deposited there. The Fiatooka was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral pile in the middle, of a pyramidical form, round which, the bodies of the Chiefs had been laid for ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The space round the tomb was on this occasion a palæstra for savage gladiators. Hundreds ran about it, with ferocious emulation, to signalize their grief for the venerated chief, or their contempt of pain and death, by inflicting on themselves the most ghastly wounds, and exhibiting spectacles of the greatest horror. Thousands, ere the period of mourning was over, fought with each other, and cut themselves with sharp instruments, to testify by bloody scars, their sorrow for their beloved Moomooe,

It was an awful scene indeed! Night after night, we heard for some weeks, the horrid sound of the conch-shell, rousing these deluded creatures to these dreadful rites of mourning for the dead; and shrieks, and clashing arms, and the rushing and violence of the multitude, re-echoed round our abode, and rendered it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

At length these shocking ceremonies ceased, and all the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing a supreme.

Toogahowe, who by his superior prowess in the field, had awed the neighbouring Islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his Father Moomooe

**Vavau
Pangai**

20



361
133
342
514
764
368
312
343
423
366

DEATH

761 For the villager as for all other humans death at last comes to cut short the span of life. The patterns of behaviour that he has elaborated to enable him to handle this crisis are again a mixture of the new and the old. They may be most clearly described by showing the way they control the behaviour of a group of relatives when the household head dies.

763 When the father is dying, it is *tapu* for his children to
784 come into the house in which the sick man is lying, or dying.
593 The mother may attend the dying man, but not the children. This is part of the general set of *tapu* that govern the relation of father to children. The remains of the father's food, for example, or his drinking-nut, are *tapu* to his children. Children must not touch the father's head. A child being played with or fondled by the father may not eat food at the same time. It is *tapu* for a child to wear the father's *vala*.

763 The dying man therefore, is attended by his wife and
[593] by relatives of himself and his wife. They shake the man
[602] to keep him alive. They pray over the man, use whatever medicines are suggested. But the dying man may speak, he may say that he has been mean or deceitful to someone. In this case, the situation is considered pretty hopeless.

764 When it is evident that life has finally ebbed away, the wife closes her husband's eyes and mouth. She wipes the body with warm water, rubs it with coconut-oil, dresses the corpse in "best" clothes. Bark cloth is wrapped round the chest. Mats are spread in the middle of the house, bark cloth is placed on top, and a pillow. Then the corpse is laid on this "bed" and covered up to the chin with the finest mats that the household can find. Close relatives, dressed in their ceremonial skirts sit round the corpse, fanning it to keep away flies, and keeping up a continuous wailing and chanting (*tangi*). This is generally continued all night long. Just

[593] after daylight breaks, the man's children are allowed into the house for a moment to give the deceased one last greeting in the form of a kiss (*uma*). The corpse is then wrapped in a five fathom length of bark cloth, placed on a wooden frame and carried to the village cemetery for burial.

764 The village undertaker is usually in charge of the corpse
 767 at the grave. He is called to the house only if expert
 services are required in laying out the body. If, for instance,
 there were complications in the death, or if the mouth or
 nose began to bleed, then the expert would be called in to
 arrange everything in a decent manner.

764 The grave has been dug by relatives during the night.
 [602] Other relatives have been at work before dawn preparing
 the oven for the funeral feast. The food continues to cook
 while the body is being interred. When the corpse reaches
 the cemetery, it is lowered into the grave. The undertaker
 [767] gets into the grave also and arranges the mats and bark
 cloth round the body. He puts a large stone on top of the
 body to anchor it to the grave. Then he climbs out and the
 [533] grave is filled in. There is singing and praying while this is
 [782] being done. Finally the village overseer stands on the grave
 [644] and makes a brief statement in which he urges the mourners
 to still their grief. He also announces the arrangements
 for the funeral feast and *kava*-drinking.

764 A *kava*-circle is formed on an open space near to the
 276 mourners' house. The village overseer is invited to preside.
 574 On his left hand sits the undertaker and on his right sits the
 767 man who acts as attendant chief (*matapule*) to the village
 624 overseer. As the *kava* is being made, the ovens are opened.
 565 Then when the *kava* is clear and ready for drinking, the
 644 undertaker orders the food to be displayed. If special
 formality is desired, five stalks of sugar-cane are brought
 forward at this time. One stalk is placed before the over-
 seer, two before the undertaker, and two before the attendant
 chief. The undertaker and the attendant each break their
 stalks into a sufficient number of pieces so that there is one
 piece for each of the men of the *kava* circle. This sugar cane
 then constitutes the *kava*-relish (*fono ae kava*).²⁴ It is *tapu*
 [784] to smoke tobacco at any time during this funeral celebration.

764 The *kava* is now served. The undertaker receives the
 276 first cup. He pours the *kava* from the cup handed him into
 574 a special *tapu* cup that he carries with him. The other

767 ²⁴ It is common today in the village for the *fahu* to take the *kava*-
 [178] relish presented to his mother's brother, a custom which Gifford notes
 (Tongan Society, p. 24) as "anciently not extensively practised among
 commoners."

764
 276
 574
 767
 [537]
 [539]

members drink from the cups provided for the circle. After one round of *kava* is finished, the undertaker makes a brief speech which runs as follows:

"Thank you, O chiefly people, for coming to the funeral of this man. Now he rests quietly in his last resting-place. Tomorrow you will all gather together again. We shall finish this funeral on the morrow. We shall finish the work of making the deceased a chiefly person. Then everything will be finished as it should be. Now there is nothing more to do."

[576] The references to chiefly people in these words are merely polite exaggerations indicating respect for the deceased and respect also for those present. They mean, "important people," not people of noble rank, for none in this commoner village has any illusions over his ultimate status in this world.

764
 574 The *kava*-circle breaks up. Each man or family represented goes home with his or its division of the food which is eaten with other members of the family.

765 On the afternoon of this day, the family of the deceased goes back to the cemetery to spend the afternoon wailing and chanting.

Early next morning, the family and its relatives go to the cemetery at dawn. The men clear away the weeds from the grave. The women go to the nearest beach, bring back clean sand and coral-pebbles to strew on the grave. When this decorating work is finished, another feast is held. 765
 574 Uncooked food, generally ripe bananas, ripe plantains, sugar cane, melons, papaia, pineapples, bread, is collected together and placed in an open space near the cemetery. A *kava*-circle is formed with the undertaker presiding. Again, when 276
 767 the *kava* is clear and ready for serving, the undertaker orders the food to be divided. After one round, he makes a further speech of thanks to all those who have attended and helped with the decorating of the grave.

765 Commencing with the night following the burial and for the following ten nights, there is a strict mourning-period 602
 (mohe or nofoaki putu) for all the close relatives of the deceased. Only the women sleep in the bereaved house. By day, men and women work bringing food from the bush to feed the group; part of each day is also spent carrying

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

108

grave-pebbles and sand to decorate further the grave. On the tenth day, the close male relatives prepare a large feast to bring this mourning period to a close (*fakamalele ae putu*). The food is kept until nightfall when all the young boys and girls in the village, all the unmarried youth, that is, from puberty onwards, are invited to come to the deceased's house there to dance, sing and be joyful. The older people sit drinking *kava* and watching the fun. After the first making of the *kava*, the feast is divided among all present, young and old. The merry-making and *kava*-drinking continue until an early hour in the next morning. Then the people gather up their food-divisions and return home. The period of mourning is over. Relatives return to their own villages, if they have come from afar. The everyday life of the village can renew itself.

For the death of an important individual in the village, this ten-day mourning-period is considered sufficient. During this time it is *tapu* for anyone in the village to sing, dance, or make bark cloth. For an important noble, the mourning-period may last for six months or more. The status of the deceased is shown by the length of his mourning-period and the consequent *tapu* on any joyful activities or on bark cloth making.

Semisi, the resident village undertaker (*ha'a tufunga*) is of no high social class. He inherited his skill from his father who was undertaker before him. Semisi would not attempt to embalm a body. He limits his job to the arrangement of the corpse in the house (if this is necessary) and to a general superintendence over the burial. For his services Semisi is paid with bark cloth, mats, and food. Semisi has the right to the honorific name of Manafa, a name conferred on him by the high chief Lepakuku of the village of Leimatua. This name not only increases Semisi's importance in the village—it is the name by which he is called in a *kava* circle—but it gives him the right to practice undertaking anywhere in Tonga. In other words, it makes him a sort of recognized member of the informal guild of Tongan undertakers. After each burial, Semisi is in a *tapu* state for two or three days. He eats by himself and does not take any part in food-preparation. An undertaker of the highest social class must

765
602
765
602
574
276

765
[784]
765
565
554
784

764
767

767
554

[784]
[264]
[252]

Between two extremes, there are such aspects of the culture as economics where a subsistence-economy that is largely Tongan in techniques and organization has been interpenetrated by a money-economy derived from European culture; or the ceremony of marriage where a Christian ritual and a civil registration have been imposed upon a Tongan way of marriage—here the Tongan form is likely to be submerged in the near future by an imported form that appeals because of its simplicity and is felt to be a necessity because of Christian teaching. But the function of marriage is still regarded in Tongan fashion as the producing of children.²⁵ There is as yet no evidence of a European cultural attitude that thinks in terms of contraceptives and planned parenthood.

Again, in customs relating to birth and death, Tongan practice is still largely followed in the village. Tongan midwifery is uniformly the rule at the birth of a child; and at death, Tongan customs are also followed with the exception that on the one hand Christian prayers and the singing of Christian hymns have now a part in the funeral proceedings, and on the other hand, villagers are all buried in the one village cemetery whereas in ancient aboriginal practice, before grouping in villages took place, a dead person was buried on his own plantation or under the floor of his house.

Finally, to take one more example, education, previously informal, has now become institutionalized by the establishment of a formal school-system. The curriculum and the content of this system are based on European models, the language of instruction is Tongan. This means that whatever changes are introduced into the village culture by the ability of the ordinary villager to read and write, nonetheless he is still viewing this culture through the medium of his own native language. The basis of communication within the culture, therefore, is still in terms of thought- and language-patterns which are given formal structure by the

²⁵ Dr. Lopdell gives us the case, which he regards as not untypical of Tongan belief and practice, of a still young married woman and her husband who had had twelve children in the first fifteen years of their marriage and none for two years thereafter, and who consulted him because of their worry over lack of more offspring. Their fear was that their neighbours would think that they no longer loved each other!

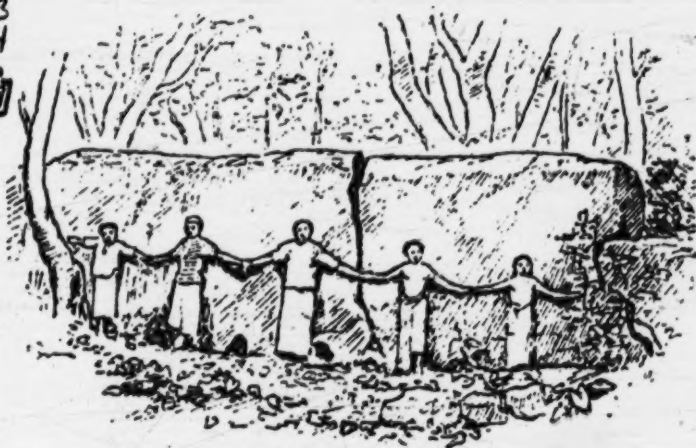
643 trade was at a standstill. The people went to their planta-
 643 tions only to dig up and carry away food for the great funeral
 764 feasts. Their only labour was the erection of the great tomb in
 643 the Malackula (Red square). Contrary to general expectation,
 the king's great-grandson, George Taufaaahau, succeeded him
 [645] without disturbance. This was in a great measure due to the
 loyalty and good sense of Tukuaho, who might easily, had he
 pleased, have divided the country into factions. The young
 king of twenty ill repaid this devotion. For the first few
 months, it is true, he followed his Premier's advice. But no
 sooner did he begin to feel secure in his new position than he
 [764] began to listen to advisers of another kind. The balance in
 the treasury had melted away in the expenses of the funeral.
 Under the most favourable circumstances, the country could
 only recover under careful management. But before the people
 731 could return to work, an epidemic of measles, then prevalent in
 [164] New Zealand, broke out in Nukualofa. We all know the story
 of the measles in Fiji,—how, in 1876, it swept away 40,000 out
 of the population of 150,000. Measles, when it attacks the
 Polynesians, is no longer the infantine malady we know of. It
 [165] becomes a devastating plague. The Tongans, with the experi-
 ence of Fiji in their memories, took, it is true, some precautions
 against the after-effects of the disease; but, nevertheless, one-
 twentieth of the population was carried off, and the remainder
 669 was so demoralised that it was threatened with famine. The
 measles gave the enemies of the Government the opportunity
 they wanted. The infection must have been brought by a
 steamer, and the Premier had been responsible for the granting
 of pratique. It mattered not that the king had himself sanc-
 tioned the hauling down of the yellow flag. An excuse was
 wanted for dismissing him, and the king availed himself of it.
 669 There was a *coup-d'état*. One morning the European officers
 645 of Customs found sentries at their office doors. Tukuaho was
 563 summarily dismissed without any assigned reason, Sateki ap-
 439 pointed in his place, and an unemployed schoolmaster and a
 651

300 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

173 suckle them as other women suckle their children!"
175 And he granted her prayer, and let her suckle the child;
643 and she called him Lo-tawai. So he only of them all
saw his father, the Tui Tonga.

And as the years passed the Tui Tonga's face was
changed towards his people, and he laid heavy tasks upon
them, even in the planting-time, when every man should
be in his own yam-garden. For he built a tomb for him-

173
175
643
764
466
[549]



The Tomb of a King.

self in the burying-place of his fathers; but he would
surpass them all, and bade the people hew great stones
from the reef, greater than any of his fathers had taken
for their *malae*. And the stone-cutters hewed a huge
stone upon the Liku, like an island for greatness; and the
Tui Tonga sent to the people of Belehake, saying, "Go,
and drag the stone for the side of my *malae*; so I shall
not be forgotten hereafter."

They toiled at the stone all day, sore at heart, for it was planting-time, and in the evening they sent to Tui Tonga, praying that he would suffer them first to plant their yams, and afterwards return to drag the stone, that it would take many days, and the time for yam-planting was far spent. But he returned answer that they were idle and dishonoured his commands. And the people were afraid when they heard his answer, and gathered together to the stone before it was yet day. And the sun rose on their toil, but the stone was so heavy that when it was low in the west they had only reached the cave Anameama, on the Liku, where there is fresh water. Their throats were dried up with thirst, and they crowded one upon the other in their haste to drink; but so many were they that before they had all drunk the pool was dry, and they licked the mud, and cursed their king in their hearts.

Then one said, "How long shall we suffer this? He has other tasks in his mind for us, and who knows whether we shall live or die, and our wives be given to others? Shall we not take rest?"

So they conspired that night to kill the Tui Tonga, and in the morning two old men, Tamajia and Malofafa of Belehake, met him in the path as he went to bathe, and slew him there, and cut up the body so that none might know it, and hung the limbs in a tree.

And one of the king's women ran to Niutao, to tell the children that their father was dead. They were racing toy canoes in the shallow water; and Kau-ulu-fonua, the elder, now almost grown to manhood, was intent upon his canoe, and saw not that the sea was rising and falling

THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL 379

apart. The poem contained five or six stanzas of ten ⁰⁰⁰ lines, and in all these there were but two differences of one word each.

The ancient monuments of Tonga have an interest of ³⁴⁹ their own, since they are the rare efforts of a people who ³⁴² build their houses and temples of materials no more enduring than grass. The tombs of the Tui Tonga, described ³⁴⁹ by so many travellers, are in the ordinary form of the ⁷⁶⁴ Polynesian *malae*, a quadrilateral mound faced by huge ⁶⁴³ blocks of stone, rising sometimes in terraces to a height of ^[77] 20 feet. From the account left to us by the first missionaries of the funeral of Mumui in the year 1797, we know that each of these mounds contains in its exact centre the body of a dead king. The tombs are now so overgrown with forests that it is almost impossible to photograph them. Banyan-trees have sprouted on the terraces, and have bored their roots into every crevice, covering the stones with a lacework of tendrils which, year by year, force great blocks asunder, till the form of the terraces is almost obliterated. I tried to persuade a leading man of ^[784] Mua to clear away the forest and preserve the tombs; but I found that even in these days the tradition of the *tabu* is strong enough to make this a sacrilege. The rule was, ^[769] that after a body was laid to rest, Nature should be allowed to shroud it from the vulgar gaze, and that no foot should trample the hallowed ground until the death of a successor. When this happened, the people reverently cleared the whole ground, and built a new tomb, and practised the extraordinary funeral rites that have been so minutely described by Mariner. But now that the office of Tui Tonga has been abolished, the tombs will never again be cleared

380 THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL.

349 until their site has been forgotten by posterity, or they
[764] have themselves crumbled away into a shapeless mound.
[643]

Besides these tombs, there is an older monument concerning which no tradition has been preserved. It stands upon land which is the peculiar property of the Tui Tonga, at a spot perhaps two furlongs from the beach. It consists of two upright monoliths of hardened coral, neatly squared, and across them rests a similar stone mortised into their summits. Each of these stones must weigh at least fifty tons. I climbed them and found upon the top of the cross [643] stone a cup-like depression, very carefully cut. The only tradition preserved, is that the stones are the property of the Tui Tonga, and are called Haamonga, but their meaning is now forgotten. I carefully examined the surrounding ground for a sign of excavation, but there was none; yet I believe that one may argue from analogy that these stones were set on end by inclined planes of earth as heavy house-posts are sometimes raised to this day. Probably Stonehenge and all the similar monoliths of 000 primitive peoples were raised in the same way. It once fell to my lot to build a native house which was to gratify the natural vanity of the mountaineers in Fiji by surpassing all other houses in size and magnificence. The main posts were enormous logs of *resi*, a timber heavier than oak, and each of them must have weighed more than ten tons. I had the holes dug to receive them, and lined them with two feet of stones to prevent the trees from driving farther into the earth than the measured depth. Then I borrowed some strong tackle-blocks and ropes, and summoned all the able-bodied men of the district to help in lifting them. I carefully explained

644 father, chuckled at the thought of being a
grandfather, and touched lightly on the still
burning question of the king's marriage, which
had not disturbed him, for all it had threatened
797 revolution. And "Misa Beika" was back again.
He laughed long and loud at this admission and
the reminiscences that it evoked.

128 I must here digress to explain what had taken
place since my term of office ten years before.

643 In 1893 King George had died, at the age of
[764] ninety-seven, of a chill supposed to have been
brought on by his obstinate habit of bathing
at daybreak in the sea, and had been buried in
a huge mound thrown up in the public square
of Nukualofa, known as the Malaekula, or Red
Square. Contrary to expectation, his great
great-grandson, Taufa'ahau, had succeeded him
without disturbance, under the title of George

645 Tubou II. Not long after his accession he had
dismissed Tukuaho, appointing him governor
of Vavau, and had made Sateki, my auditor-

[647] general, premier in his stead. For a time the
[186] premier had had an European clerk, but the
native government had gradually come to dispense
with all Europeans except the Customs staff.

652 This meant, of course, that it had sought un-
official and irresponsible advice from traders,

NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. COLLOCOT.

PART II.

TUI Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Moso in Samoa and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a village near Nukualofa. When the native cults were still living Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua was one of the most famous. 776
[171]
776
778
[164]

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those who are going away or to those who are remaining. 776
613
776
[825]
[778]
793
787
[192]

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not unlikely detail. 776
[1753]
[842]

Mofuta-ae-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niutoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately

Notes on Tongan Religion.

233

god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*. [776] [825]

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoun, in the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele. [825] [793]

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoun, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ae-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings. These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. The god's pharmacopoeia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and use are far from being divine secrets. [776] [778] [252] [764] [782] [776] [755] [757]

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Mani (The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Mani), in the eastern part of Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god. [776] [349] [776] [825]

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat. [643] [304]

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The house near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic influenza. [825] [763] [164] [165]

825 The *kanake* (mullet), the sacred creature of the clan called Fa'ingu's,
 613 *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. These *matabules* are descended from the
 644 hero Tui Motuliki, who was the son of the Fijian woman Sinailele
 779 (this name is perhaps connected with Hina, the widely recognised
 Polynesian goddess), and the bones of the dead Mani Atalanga and
 Maui Kijikiji. Tui Motuliki was even mightier than the great Maui,
 and whilst yet a child performed the most amazing prodigies of
 773 strength and valour. The mullet was from infancy sacred (*tabu*) to
 825 him, and an old tale relates that he prohibited its use as food by any
 784 man. When he came from Fiji to Tonga he brought his *tabu* with
 262 him, and the Tui Tonga is said to have extended the prohibition on
 eating it to all the men of Tonga. There seems to be no remembered
 custom to support this tradition so far as full-grown mullet is con-
 cerned, though there is corroboration of the statement that the young
 mullet (called *te'efo*) was *tabu* to the men.

825 The *eka* (rail) was the god of Manumua, a chief on the island of
 776 Eua. It was also the god of Motuku-ree-valu (Eight-legged-heron),
 a chief in the west of Tongatabu, and the father of Muni, of whom
 773 exploits are related very similar to those of Maui. It is said that
 Motuku-ree-valu and his descendants were chiefs in the west of
 Tongatabu before the present Haa-Nguta lords. This, if true, is a
 825 very interesting statement. The rail figures prominently in the story
 [779] of Muni, guiding the hero, who had been cast into the sea at birth
 and was completely unknown to his father, to the old gentleman as he
 was hiding from his foe Bunga (coral), the chief of Eastern Tonga-
 774 tabu. Those who belonged to the rail cult used to take the bird about
 [779] with them. This practice is indicated in the story of the birth of the
 beautiful Vaa.

[644] The *lulu* (owl) is mentioned as sacred to a family group in
 Haupai who belonged to the Falefa, already noticed as *matabules* of the
 Tui Tonga. Possibly it was sacred to all the Falefa. In passing it
 [55] may be remarked that Falefa seems to mean "wide-spread," "widely
 ramified," like the water flowing on all sides from the pandanus (*fa*) in
 a heavy rain.

825 The best remembered feature of the owl's supernatural functions is
 843 its habit of revealing the pregnancy of women. If the owl hooted near
 a house in the afternoon it was known that there was a pregnant
 woman in that household. The meddling bird never blurted out its
 news unless for some reason the lady were keeping her interesting
 condition a secret, or were as yet unaware of it herself.

825 The hooting of an owl near a house late at night was a sign that
 [787] some disaster would befall the unlucky home.

[643] Toke-i-Mouua, that Eel-in-the-Open-Sea, was the god of Uila in
 Haupai, whose chief is Malubo. On his mother's side King George
 Tabon I. was connected with this family. Two of the king's sons are

Notes on Tongan Religion.

235

buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uila. There was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is a royal burial ground in Nukunolofa, in which cement takes the place of the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uila. The sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilan is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage being Jinilan, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally handsome persons were called Jinilan, their attractive appearance being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilan married Hina, but before the marriage took place the poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilan to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilan slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the diletatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilan. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilan figures as lord of Akana in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori Tinirau is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilan has also special connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime. In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tununga, relatives of Jinilan, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilan, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilan thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga.

139

plunge into the other place. Tongans are of course unaware of the 775
amiable company that Mr. Bernard Shaw assures us is there.

The solicitations of dead friends does not at all exhaust the 775
possibilities of ghostly interference with the health of the living. 753
Almost any sickness may as well be due to ghosts as to anything else.
A girl who lives with a European family in a place where there is
a good deal of bush about, happened to cough in the presence of a
wise old lady, and was submitted to the following diagnostic
examination. "Do you cough much?" "Yes, I cough a good
deal." "Do you sleep by yourself?" "Yes, I have a room to
myself." "In the dark?" "Yes." "Ah, that is it. In the bush,
by yourself, in the dark. Ghosts. Now what you must do is to put
a tent of native-cloth round your bed, and sleep inside that with a
lighted lamp."

Writers have commented on the simplicity of ghosts, and indeed 775
they seem pretty easy to deceive. A precaution that is not without
tender pathos is sometimes taken with women who die in childbirth,
or whilst they have a child at the breast. A *tappa* mallet is laid on
the dead woman's arm, so that she may suppose that her babe is with [764] ●
her, and so rest peacefully and not go and take her child away. But
in spite of all precautions a ghost sometimes breaks through our
guards. A man goes to sleep in apparently robust health, and in the 775
morning is found dead. A ghost has come in the night and throttled 761
him, and witnesses are not wanting to testify to marks on his throat.
Such a death would perhaps be attributed to conduct which had
offended the ghosts.

In earlier days it was extremely common to sacrifice a joint of the 782
little finger on behalf of a sick friend, and in the case of a high chief 165
who was seriously ill a human victim might be offered. Mariner 755
describes the sacrifice of a little girl on behalf of the chief Finau,
and I have myself spoken to a man whose mother was an eye-witness
of the sacrifice of a man to secure the recovery of a sick chief. In
both cases the victim was strangled, and in both cases, too, the
patient dishonoured the remedy by dying.

Besides the wide and indefinite number of sicknesses attributable 752
to the misguided affection or malevolence of spirits, a very large 753
range of disorders is classified as *fusi*, a breaking. There seems to
be an analogy with the known phenomena of broken bones and
strained muscles. The sprains which are amenable to the excellent
massage are called twisted sinew, but these supposed breakings are
most varied in character, and as indefinite as the illnesses resulting
from the pranks of ghosts. The aches caused by lung troubles are
supposed to be caused by some sort of internal rupture, and treated
accordingly; both internal and externally. As a cure for an aching
back massaging is likely to prove effective, even if the decoctions of

349 the very large stones used in the old structures have been
 172 quarried; but, on the other hand, no systematic search may
 316 have been made. Traditionary evidence, however, is suffi-
 316 ciently strong to warrant the belief that some at least of the
 stones were brought from distant islands, notably Uvea.

349 All these imposing structures are incontrovertible evi-
 643 dence of power. They were possible only to kings at whose
 461 command was a practically unlimited supply of labour. The
 population of the islands may have been little, if any,
 greater, than at present, but the king must have had the un-
 questioned right to the labour of every man. The fragment
 quoted above indicates such a right extending over a very
 much larger area than the present Tongan group. Despotism
 773 power can accomplish much. A tradition relates that two
 461 chiefs, brothers, were engaged in hauling a huge stone,
 which the labourers found quite beyond their strength.
 Night fell, but the stone had not been moved. In the dark-
 ness the brothers took counsel together, and, when the work
 was resumed on the morrow, threatened with death any
 man who did not pull satisfactorily. The threat was efficaci-
 ous, and "the stone ran" into its place, as the Tongan
 idiom has it.

REMOVAL OF KINGS TO MUA.

173 The two sons of Tui-ta-tui initiated an important change.
 643 They were interested in boats, and each possessed a large
 canoe. Heketa was ill-provided with anchorages, and they
 shifted their abode nearer to the centre of the north coast of
 Tongatabu, to the present Mua, or Lapaha (equivalent to
 Lambasa in Fiji), where they found safe shelter for their
 boats. Henceforth this site was the abode of the Tui Tonga
 349 and his court. Here are the *langi*, burial vaults, so well
 764 known to the modern sight-seer. These vaults stand in a
 766 long row, with isolated ones scattered about. The earliest
 probably dates from about the thirteenth century. The
 finest of these, with corners of immense single blocks hewn
 into right angles, stands nearer the sea than the main
 row of *langi*. It is associated with the name of Telea, who
 belongs to about the beginning of the seventeenth century;
 but its position suggests the probability that its erection be-
 longs to the reign of an earlier king. There have been very
 recent interments in this *langi*. It should be remarked that
 highly competent Tongan authority asserts that the kings

An Experiment in Tongan History.

173

were frequently buried secretly, and not in the vault where the interment ostensibly took place, so as to be secure from violation by their enemies.

349
764
766

THE WOODEN KING.

Two generations after Tui-ta-tui a curious incident occurred, which seemed to show a reluctance to break through the succession of son to father. Talaatama was in reality succeeded by his brother Talai-haa-pepe. The genealogies show a late example of a king succeeding to his half-brother, though evidently the later king in this case had a very much younger mother than his predecessor. When Talaatama died, however, Talai-haa-pepe took a block of wood, and installed that as Tui Tonga, the Tui-tonga-nui. The wooden king was given a wife, and in due time it was announced that she was pregnant. Later followed the sad announcement that the king was dead. His wooden majesty was buried, and Talai-haa-pepe was installed, one hazards the guess rather as the son of the wooden king, than as the brother of the last real occupant of the throne.

173
643

SAMOAN WAR—1250.

After Talai-haa-pepe reigned Tala-kai-faiki, a noted warrior, ruthless as he was energetic and able. In the thirteenth century he brought a large part of Samoa under his sway, but his cruelty augmented the restiveness which a spirited people always feels under the yoke of the conqueror, and he was driven out by the Samoans, led by Tuna and Fata, whose brother was the first bearer of the title of Malietoa. The defeated king's farewell to Samoa is a model of fair and succinct treaty-making:

[539]

Noble courage, finely fought,
Not again shall I come
With strife to Samoa;
But my coming shall be
On a voyage of peace.

There is also a Samoan lament, put into the mouth of Tala-kai-faiki's mother, who supposed that her son was killed, somewhat in the spirit of portions of Deborah's Song in the fifth chapter of Judges. The silence of Tongan tradition concerning this war is not a little strange. Since the event was not favourable to Tonga, the Tongan bards may for that reason have rejected the theme. There may

173 be a confusion in Samoan legends resulting in the ante-
 643 dating of later wars. The agreement of the Malietoa
 648 genealogy with the position of Tala-kai-faiki in the Tui
 Tonga list, and the fact that Samoan tradition represents
 the name of the Tongan oppressor as Talaaifei'i, raise
 strong presumptions in favour of the substantial accuracy
 of the usual account.

BEGINNING OF THE TUI-HAA-TAKALAAU.

173 The next Tui Tonga of whom any considerable tradition
 643 is preserved is Takalaua, whom I conjecture to have lived
 about the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. (now Sir)
 Basil Thomson, who accepts fewer generations than I have
 done in the list of Tui Tonga, gives a somewhat later date.¹⁵

Tradition relates in some detail the birth of Vae, of
 peerless beauty, and of her marriage with the king, to whom
 she bore several sons, including Kau-ulu-fonua, afterwards
 called Fekai, fierce, and Motua-mounga. The king, Takalaua,
 was murdered, and his successor, Kau-ulu-fonua, is said to
 have delayed his father's obsequies till he had avenged the
 murder. If this be literally true it would suggest that effective
 [164] means of embalming were known, as a considerable
 time elapsed before the assassins were punished. The
 murderers long eluded capture, and in the course of their
 pursuit, not only the different parts of the present Tongan
 group, were visited and defeated, but Samoa, Uvea, Futuna
 and Fiji. Different accounts do not give all the same list of
 conquered countries. When the murderers were captured
 they were taken back to Tonga, cut up to serve as the *fono*,
 food, distributed at a kava ceremony, presumably that in
 connection with the funeral rites of the dead king, who was
 then buried. The dismembered bodies of the assassins are
 said to have been burnt.

Samoan genealogies show what is perhaps a perpetua-
 tion of the name and early history of the lovely Vae. A Tui
 Tonga, Fa'aulu-fanua married a Samoan lady, Taupoimas-
 ina, who bore him a daughter named Vaetoeifanga; Vae-
 still-on beach. The original Vae was deserted on the small
 island where she was born, because her head, or face, was
 disfigured and resembled a pigeon's.¹⁶

15. Diversions of a Prime Minister, pp. 306 and 396.

16. A. Krämer op. cit. Vol. I., p. 301.

to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed as priest of the shark-god Taufu. Though the worship of Taufu has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The present Kautai is a good Roman Catholic. This perpetuation of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes appears as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatapu are within Catholic precincts, where was formerly his sacred pool. Convent girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone. In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than anciently, the coloured linoleum and tile advertisements of magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric designs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

361 Beyond these stands the *Bou valu*, a large open
 [344] building devoted to the reception of strangers, and
 [351] to the transaction of all public business. Around
 [764] this place there is a *malae*, or grassy sward, of
 several acres in extent, fringed by cocoa-nut and
 cedar trees; the prospect being bounded on the
 right by the hill of Neiafu, at the foot of which lies
 a burial-ground, where the remains of two mission-
 aries have been interred, near the tombs of the
 leading native families.

361 Proceeding a little further inland, the Chapel is
 368 reached. That which stood there in 1846, mea-
 797 sured one hundred feet by forty-five. Turning
 [491] from thence to the left by a road leading towards
 Talau, the Mission premises were soon reached.
 These consisted, at the time specified, of a large
 printing-office, containing three presses with all
 their necessary appurtenances; and beyond that
 building lay the dwellings required for three Mis-
 sion families. These were erected upon separate
 [417] *abis*, or allotments of gardening land, the whole
 [245] being surrounded by a neat native fence, with a
 magnificent row of large orange-trees lining the
 entire frontage to the road.

797 After the bustle of landing our stores was over,
 the active duties of Mission life immediately com-
 menced. Among these, the acquirement of the
 797 language was felt to be the thing of greatest im-
 122 portance. We had not been idle in this matter
 since reaching the islands: but still, in the pre-
 vailing religious excitement, and the consequent
 increase of labour devolving upon our senior col-
 league, Mr. Turner, we saw abundant reason for
 prosecuting its study with unsparing diligence.

[123] We longed to take an active part in the religious

[174] and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions
[784] connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a
relic, much changed and corrupted, from the cere-
monial observances of the Jews.

[796] 3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of
first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom
or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

[304] 4. The same may be said of the rite of circum-
cision, which was regularly practised by them. An
uncircumcised person was considered mean and
despicable; and the custom has only disappeared
in recent years.

[783] 5. Every person and thing that touched a dead
body was considered unclean, and remained so until
[764] after the lapse of a certain number of days.
During that allotted time, those whose duties com-
pelled them to do the rites of burial, were not
allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food
prepared by others. They were therefore carefully
fed by attendants.

[846] 6. Females, after child-birth, and after other
periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separa-
[783] tion; and were subjected to ceremonial purifica-
tions.

[798] 7. The Tonguese had cities of refuge, corre-
sponding to those instituted among the Jews; the
uses and regulations of which were closely akin to
theirs.

[793] 8. The priestly orders and functions resembled,
in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law.
The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become in-
spired by the god, as his shrine or representative,
while receiving and answering the prayers and
sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered
[794] through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the *Taula*;

517 were comparatively harmless, but others were
 526 obscene and demoralizing in the highest degree.
 541 Boxing, club-fighting, and wrestling, were highly
 popular. The proceedings were regulated by cer-
 tain laws, for the proper observance of which
 managers were appointed, and umpires to decide
 upon rival claims. These matches were often
 attended with serious, and even fatal results. The
 spectators delighted in blows that brought blood;
 and stimulated the combatants with shouts and
 yells of applause.

764 The ceremonies observed on the death of any
 prominent personage, were extremely barbarous.
 (302) The hair was shaved, or cut close, and the face and
 (304) various parts of the body cut, bruised, or burned.
 Affection or respect for the deceased was estimated
 by the amount of bodily pain endured. Chiefs
 764 were usually interred in tombs, constructed of
 554 blocks of sandstone, cut from suitable localities by
 565 the seashore, where, at a little depth from the sur-
 face, layers of hard and durable sandstone are
 found, even on many of the coralline islands. In
 several of the ancient burial-places, similar stones,
 arranged in terraces, surround the whole enclosure.
 Some of these are of immense size, and seem to
 indicate the possession, on the part of former in-
 habitants, either of greater energy than the present
 764 race, or of better tools and appliances. The burial
 (137) places of the Tonguese are always surrounded by
 the most imposing foliage of the tropics, and placed
 in sequestered spots. A mound of earth is raised,
 of dimensions varying with the necessities of the
 place; and, whenever a grave is opened within the
 limits of this mound, it is always filled up with
 beautiful white sand, and never contains more than

CEREMONIES AT DEATH.

260

one body. No particle of clay or earthy mould is allowed to touch the remains of the dead. The sand is brought in baskets by the chief mourners, who sometimes sail or journey many miles to procure it; and each person pours the contents into the grave, until it is sufficiently filled up. The top of the grave is, afterwards, carefully tended and decorated with black pebbles and red coral, arranged in various devices, which have a very pretty effect. Small houses are also placed over the tombs of the chiefs and gentry. Owing, however, to the circumstance that many of the religious practices of heathenism required visits, and offerings, at the graves of deceased individuals, whose interposition with the gods was thought necessary, these places were much more carefully attended to formerly than they are now. Indeed, the Missionaries will, probably, find it needful to advise the people against running into the extreme of negligence, and indifference, about the last resting-places of deceased friends.

In the days of heathenism, occasions of burials and marriages were accompanied by immense feasting, proportioned according to the rank of the parties, or the will of those connected with them. Property, of various kinds, was always prepared by the relations and friends against these times, and brought as gifts. These were thrown into one common stock, from which they were again distributed, by those authorized to do so, to the assembled company. These distributions of property often led to bitter family and tribal animosities, and were seasons when the true and inordinate covetousness of the people could not remain concealed. These practices still continue, to some

764

 (565)
 (349)
 769
 178
574
431574
431
578

[178]

797 close of 1832, there were fourteen in operation, in
 871 which the inhabitants were taught to read and
 177 write. In these schools, there were more than two
 thousand persons under instruction, of every age
 and from all classes of the community, from the
 child of three years to the man of grey hairs, and
 from the king himself to the meanest of his serfs.

797 The island of Uiha was the only place where any
 798 serious opposition was met. Containing, as it did,
 [764] the burial grounds of the kings and chiefs of the
 [643] group, this place was the stronghold of heathen
 worship, and, for a time, the fear and respect which
 [669] its chiefs had for Taufa-ahau, did not deter them
 from clinging to it. They even thought that he
 [602] had betrayed his country by leaving heathenism
 for Christ, and they, therefore, took up arms to
 resist his authority. Some of these opponents
 were the king's near kinsmen, and had been, up to
 that time, his closest friends. By prudent but firm
 and necessary measures, Uiha was at last brought
 back to its allegiance to the king; and, shortly
 afterwards, the whole range of the Haabai archi-
 pelago lay, a peaceful and glorious trophy, at the
 Saviour's feet.

797 Passing over all the intervening years, during
 which the advancement of religion in Haabai was
 simultaneous with that of the Friendly Islands at
 large, there were in that particular group, when
 we arrived in 1853,—22 chapels, 1,850 church
 members, 55 day schools, 2,075 scholars. These
 results had not been attained without immense and
 untiring labour on the part of my predecessors.
 The names of Messrs. John Thomas, Peter Turner,
 William Cross, John Watkin, Richard B. Lyth,
 Stephen Rabone, Charles Tucker, William Webb,

must make shift to obtain elsewhere a utensil fitted for their purpose. ⁵⁶⁵

A strict regard to the tabu surrounding the persons of superiors ⁵⁷⁶
would introduce almost intolerable inconveniences into the relations ⁵⁵⁴
of intimate domestic life, but although there is considerable relaxa- ⁵⁹³
tion the tabu of the head and face is observed fairly strictly. ⁵⁷⁶ A
father's head is tabu to his child. There may be Tongan fathers who
would pick up their children and let them pull their moustaches or
hair as many a white father does, but they can not be numerous. The
Tongan father does not nurse and caress his child as freely as the
European father does. There are doubtless other considerations op-
erative, of which, by the way, lack of natural affection is not one, but
probably the most potent reason is the tabu of the father's person.

DEATH

In the treatment of the dead the working of these ideas is clearly ⁷⁶⁴ seen. The body is prepared for burial by those of family rank supe- ⁵⁵⁴
rior to that of the deceased, who had been able to approach him freely
during his lifetime. Relatives and friends of inferior rank will pay
a farewell visit to the deceased shortly after death, but the visit is
short, and during it they sit at a respectful distance in that part of
the room towards which the feet of the body are pointing. The
visitors may indeed kiss the face of their dead friend (probably an
innovation since the introduction of Christianity), but after bestow-
ing the kiss they at once retire to a proper distance. There are those
who kiss, not the face, but the feet of the deceased. Ordinarily the
body is prepared for burial by those whose relations to the deceased
enable them to approach him freely, and they suffer no inconvenience
from the contact. In the case of high chiefs, however, the last offices ⁵⁶⁵
are of necessity performed by those of inferior social status, and ⁷⁸⁴
their hands are thereafter tabu for a certain period, during which the ²⁶⁴
tabued person may not feed himself. It has not often been the for-
tune of Europeans in these latter days to see a person with tabued
hands, but the Rev. C. P. Walkden Brown, late Chairman of the Meth-
odist Mission, who left the group in 1908, was on one occasion
present at a Tongan feast in company with a man under this interdict.

The rites in connection with the burial of great chiefs have fortu- ⁷⁶⁴

nately been described by early travellers with a considerable amount of detail concerning ceremonies unfamiliar to the present generation of Tongans. The European custom of wearing black clothing and black arm bands as a sign of mourning is now universal and carried through much more completely than is usual amongst Europeans, especially in these hot tropical latitudes. In addition the old Tongan practice of wearing a ragged mat is still adhered to. A mat, other than the cloth loincloth, is a mark of respect to superior rank. In the item of the mat as a sign of mourning close relatives of the deceased will wear a ragged mat, but those not nearly akin to the deceased will wear a good one. As a mark of respect to a chief if a mat be not obtainable any sort of belt seems to answer the purpose. A few years ago I was working with some boys a few hundred yards from the beach. The king was on a visit to our island and happened to be standing at the time near the beach. None of the boys would even remotely approach the place where His Majesty was without first girding himself with a piece of mat or some substitute. Some of the boys wound a length of a creeping vine about themselves. Old travellers have noted that, in the presence of a chief, people who happened to be clad about the shoulders turned their clothing back to the waist. It was tabu to have the native cloth (ngatu) about the body, but the mat (fala) around the waist, even if it extended higher up the body than was permissible for the cloth, was not only allowed but enjoined as a mark of respect. The leaves of the ifi (Tahitian chestnut) around the neck were a sign of the utmost respect, and regularly worn by those who had a great boon to ask.

Anciently the disposal of the body of a man of insufficient social elevation to be possessed of a soul seems to have differed considerably from the elaborate ceremonial which marked the interment of a high chief. This is only to be expected, as the chief's body has been the temple of a spirit which lives on in Bulotu, although apparently capable of revisiting his earthly shrine, or in some other way exerting influence in its vicinity. The commoner's body was not the seat of a soul and its neighborhood was less likely to be made uncomfortable by ghostly disturbances. This apparently straightforward division into chiefs and commoners is not so simple as it looks. It would

probably puzzle most natives to draw the exact line at which the class of the soul-bearers ends and that of the soulless begins. Chiefs were buried in cemeteries (to which amongst other names that of *malae* is applied), whilst the lower orders were interred in some convenient place close to the dwelling. A man living alone would perhaps be buried inside his house and the house then deserted or even burned down. The members of a more numerous household would be buried round about the house, and when say half a dozen had been thus disposed of the survivors would seek a fresh site for their habitation. Christianity has endowed the common folk with souls, and promoted their mortal remains to the dignity of as careful interment in cemeteries as that enjoyed by their "betters." In speaking of a very high dead chief it is not uncommon to refer to him as "the chief in such a burial ground, or *malae*." The highest chiefs are often said to be "away," or "at a distance," when their death is spoken of.

After the death of the late King George II, in 1918, the body lay in state for several days (not an ancient custom), and every night during the lying in state multitudes of lanterns were burnt about the palace, and little fires completely surrounded the compound. These were tended in silence during the night, and might not be extinguished until the first had been put out by one of the very few persons—one at least of whom was a woman—of sufficiently high rank to give this signal. In this, as in other matters, foreigners are exempted from the tabus which bind the natives. One morning when a native able to extinguish the first flame was not at hand the services of an Indian cook were requisitioned, or were just about to be when a native appeared who was entitled to perform this ceremony. In the case of the kings the tasks connected with their burial are largely in the hands of the craftsman class or hereditary guild (*haa tufunga*). The tombs of the old Tongan kings stand in inviolate sanctity in places almost untrodden by human foot, and the gloom of forest and thicket enshrouds these abodes of supernatural dread. In modern times the Christian care of the resting places of the dead has overcome the old avoidance of burial-places. The present kings of Tonga, moreover, are buried in the town of Nukualofa, the capital, and the necessity of keeping such a site clear is modifying the old tabus.

CONCLUSION

However great a wanderer a man may have been during his life-775
 time it is amongst his own kin that he wishes to sleep his last sleep. 764
 The gods of a country not his own would resent his being laid in [776]
 their soil and would attempt to drive him away. The unlucky exile, 602
 therefore, would appear to his relatives in dreams and upbraid them [828]
 for their unkind behavior in leaving him to the fury of such persecu-
 tions, and would probably soon worry them into making the desired
 transference of his ashes. It can be very rarely, however, that the
 deceased is driven to these desperate measures, as the Tongan ob-
 serves the most scrupulous care in the disposal of his dead. There 774
 is a curious story of one who left his body and visited Bulotu (Para- [772]
 dise, Hades, Abode of Hikuleo). He was absent some time, and on
 returning to the spot where he had left his body found that his
 friends, despairing of his ever again animating it, had buried it.
 Since then he has wandered a discarnate spirit, known as a god in [776]
 Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa under the respective names of Fehuluni,
 Tuihaatala, and Moso; and with this disembodied vagrant we shall
 for the present leave the subject.

Some acknowledgments of indebtedness have been already made 115
 in the text, but in closing these notes I desire to acknowledge my
 special obligations to my friend and colleague the Rev. John Havea,
 Head Master of the Tubou College in Nukualofa, whose intelligent
 interest in all that concerns his race, and courteous patience in trying
 to make it intelligible to the foreigner, have equally made me his
 debtor.

TUBOU COLLEGE,
 NUKUALOFA, TONGA.

643 bring devastation upon Tonga. By 1810, however,
651 the political system had decentralized and changed
[784] such that the *Inasi* was discontinued.

[178] Being absolute lord over all the Tonga Islands, the
644 *Tu'i Tonga* was surpassed only in rank by his sister,
[562] the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*. (It remains true in Tonga
even today that women hold superiority over men in
ceremonial ranking.) Still higher, and in fact, the
person of highest rank traditionally in the entire
Kingdom was the *Tamaha*—that is, the eldest
daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*. The rank of the
Tamaha was so great that even the *Tu'i Tonga* had
to pay homage to her.

764 In historic times, tombs called *langi* were erected
766
349

[p. 29-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30B]



Some of the immense, stone burial structures called *langi* measured between 150 and 200 feet in length. Reproduction here is from an 1827 engraving. According to records and traditions (McKern, 1929), there are 45 *langi* in Tonga: 37 on Tongatapu, 6 in Ha'apai, and 2 in Vava'u.

Na'e fe'unga e lahi 'o e ngaahi langi 'e ni'ih mo e fute 'e 150 ki he 200. Ko e ta fakatata eni na'e fai 'i he 1827. 'Oku pehe tokua 'oku 45 e langi 'i Tonga: 37 'i Tongatapu, 6 'i Ha'apai, pea 2 'i Vava'u.

[p. 30-A]

3.: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OUG Tonga OUG

764
766
349

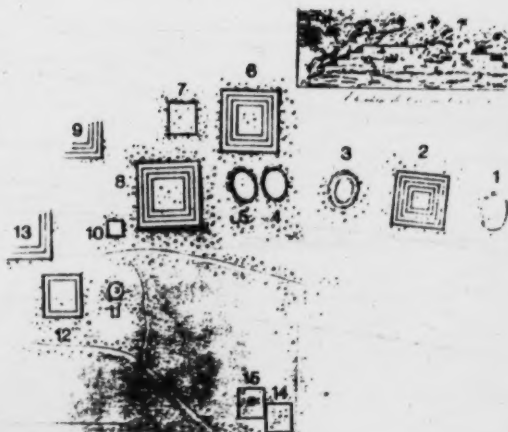
764 for the *Tu'i Tonga* and high-ranking members of his
766 family. The majority of the *langi* were built on
349 Tongatapu in the village of Mu'a, which was for
many years the center of Tongan culture and where
today there exist the remains of many of the
impressive stone monuments. In general, the term
349 *langi* implies a structure consisting of one or more
terraces made of large, rectangular slabs of coral
sandstone or limestone. However, *langi* were
reportedly only earthen mounds at first, and then
during the reign of the *Tu'i Tonga* Tu'itatui in the
eleventh century, stone structures were erected to
serve as royal tombs.¹⁰

316 As huge stones for a *langi* had to be quarried,
324 transported and then constructed at the appropriate
location, a tremendous amount of cooperation,
time, workmanship and communal labor were
[648] necessary. In Tonga, this was made possible by the
rigid organization of the socio-political system under
the *Tu'i Tonga*, who could command highly
organized labor and discipline from his subjects.

[p. 30-B]

764 This plan of the "langi" at Mu'a was done
766 in 1827 by an artist on Dumont
309 d'Urville's voyage. The description, by
number, as to who was believed at that
time to be buried in each royal tomb,
appears on page 95.

Ko e mape eni 'o e langi 'i Mu'a, 'a ia na'e
fai 'i he 1827 'a he tangata ta fakatata
na'e folau ki Tonga pea mo e tangata
folau 'i loas ko Dumont d'Urville. Ko e
fakaikiiki 'o e ngashi telio'anga 'oku ha ia
'i he peesi 95.



This colossal banyan tree, named *Malumalu'ofu'langi*, was the spot in Mu'a, according to oral tradition, where early Tongans landed to unload their tributes to the Tu'i Tonga for the annual 'Inasi ceremony. It is also allegedly at the site where Cook came ashore in 1777, and has thus been called "Captain Cook's Tree." Measuring 100 feet in circumference when this sketch was made in 1827, the legendary tree perished not too many years ago, and has since been replaced by a smaller banyan tree.

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o e fu'u 'ovava ko Malumalu'ofu'langi 'i Mu'a. 'Oku pehe foki ko e tu'uta'anga ia 'o e kau Tonga he kuo hili 'i he 'enau'omi 'Inasi fakata'u ki he Tu'i Tonga. 'Oku 'i ai foki mo e tui na'e tu'uta heni 'a Kapiteni Kuki 'i he 1777, pea ui ai 'e he ni'ihii e fu'u 'akau ni ko e "Fu'u 'Ovava" o Kapiteni Kuki. Na'e fai e ta fakatata ni he 1827, pea 'i he taimi ko ia na'e fe'unga mo e fute 'e 100 hono fua takatakai. Kuo 'osi mate foki e fu'u 'ovava ni, ka kuo 'osi to ai ha ki'i fu'u 'ovava si'isi'i ko hono fetoangi.



Early engraving of a fangi. The house on top was for the major *matapule* to dwell in while presiding over the extensive burial and mourning ceremonies of the *Tu'i Tonga*. Such remarkable stone structures represented the epitome of Tongan architectural skill and socio-political organization; however, in general, structures were more complicated in style and function in central Polynesia (e.g. Society Islands, where altars for worship and human sacrifice, god houses, temples, and other sacred enclosures or *marae* were more elaborate). The art of stone masonry probably came to Tonga from Fiji, as did the design for the Tongan *kalia* or double canoe; however, the Tongans were characteristically quick to adopt and expand upon new ideas, so they soon became more highly developed than the Fijians in stone work.

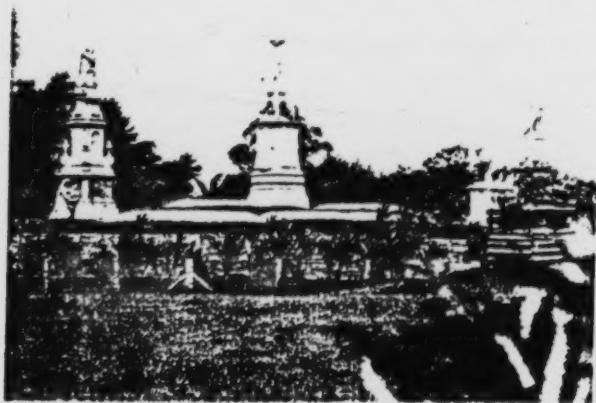
Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o he fangi 'i ono'aho. Ko e fale e 'o e kau ha'a tufunga 'i he fanga fangi lolotonga 'onau ngahi ngaue 'i hono talio 'o e Tu'i Tonga. Neongo na'e faka'oto'oto 'a hono fanga e ngahi fangi 'i Tonga, na'e toe fu'u marahe atu 'a hono fai e fanga 'aki e maka 'i he ngahi fetu'u kakeheke 'i Polinisia. 'Oku pehe na'e ma'u 'e Tonga mai Fisi 'e fa'ahinga ngaue ni, ka na'e 'ikai fuoloe kuo fakalaka 'a Tonga ia 'i Fisi 'i he fa'ahinga fanga ni.

764
766
349
211
178



Although "langi" are no longer used as royal burial places, they remain as memorials to Tonga's past, as in the photo above of the *langi* called "Tau'atonga" in Mu'a. The Royal Tombs (below), located in Nuku'alofa, have been the burial place of Tonga's Royal Family since 1893.

'Oku 'ikai kei ngaue'aki he ngaahi 'aho ni e langi hange ko e "Langi Tau'atonga" ko ia 'i Mu'a, a ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i 'olunga. Ko Mala'e Kula 'i Nuku'alofa (ta 'i lalo)—ko e telio'anga ia 'o na'a tu'i talu mei he 1893.

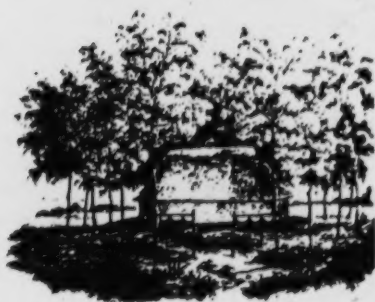


[p. 33]



Early burial places for Tongan chiefs usually consisted of vaults inside of earth and sand mounds. For memorial or protective purposes, a wooden shelter was often built atop the mound, such as in these 1827 engravings.

Ko e ongo to fakatata eni 'o ha ongo fa'itoka 'o hou'eiki 'a ia na'e fai 'i he 1827. Na'a fa'a langa 'i he fanga fa'itoka ha ki'i fa'e fakamamahu.



782 by a murder there), a chief's male child by an
783 inferior female attendant might be strangled in
[797] atonement.²³ Both the rite of *tutunima* and of
no'osia gradually became discontinued with the
introduction and spread of Christianity.

764 Funerals (*putu*), which have long been matters of
great formality and importance in Tonga, have
always been accompanied by rather extensive
mourning ceremonies. Some ancient funeral rituals
[178] having religious implications have fallen into disuse
with the passing of the "old order"; these involved
the mourners torturing themselves with self-inflicted
wounds as a sign of anguish, of respect for the

[p. 43-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 458]



[P.43-C]

Friends and relatives solemnly come to a present-day funeral in Tonga bearing offerings of flowers, tapa, mats and cloth for decorating the bier and for preparing the body for burial.
Ko ha ngaahi kainga mo e mahani eni 'o e famili 'o e pekia 'oku nau 'omi ha ngaahi pale, ngatu, fala mo e tupenu koe'uhi ko 'enau fie kaungamamahi.



The deceased lies in state, while mourners in funeral attire respectfully attend the body. (Photo at left)

Ko e ta eni 'o ha kau kaunga mamahi
tolotonga 'a e 'a'pe 'a e pekia. (Ta 'i
to'ohama)

Neatly-kept mounds and decorated graves
in this modern-day Catholic cemetery in
Mu'a reflect Tongans' respect for the
dead. In the background stands the langi
Tuotefata, in which the late Tu'i Tonga,
Laufilitonga, was buried in 1885. (Below)

'Oku fu'a faka'ape'ape mo'eni e kaka
Tonga hi he kau pekia, pea 'oku ha ia mei
he 'enua tauhi lileli' mo ma'a 'a e ngahi
fa'itoka. Ko e ta eni 'o e fa'itoka Katolika
'i Mu'a. 'Oku 'ai mai mei mei 'a e tangi
koia ko Tuotefata, 'a la na'e tefe ai he
1885 e Tu'i Tonga fakamua, 'a
Laufilitonga. (Ta 'i lalo)



44

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

764 deceased, and of self-abasement and lowliness in the
[178] eyes of the gods. Other events which have
traditionally been associated with funerals and
which are still a significant part of funeral
procedures in Tonga today include donning old
ragged mats (and black garments—a more modern
adaptation) by mourners as a symbol of humility

[p.45-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

- 764 and grief; feasting; decorating the graves with sand (*fala*), with black volcanic stones (*kilikili*), or with flower garlands and waistbands (*sisi*); bearing gifts of mats and tapa cloth (which are considered the wealth of Tongans) to the funeral for wrapping and preparing the body for burial; and ceremonial *kava* drinking.

[p. 45-C]

ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

- vi "Boats of The Friendly Isles." Plate 43, betw. pp. 474 & 475 in George Wm. Anderson, *119*
A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection . . .
- x [Seal of Tonga.] Adapted from the original by Nick Rott.
- xii [Map of Polynesia and Tonga.] Artist: Nick Rott. Adapted from Poignant, *Oceanic* ^[102]
Mythology pp. 20-21, and *National Geographic* March, 1968 p. 328. _[131]
- 2-3 "Pirogues des Iles des Amis." French reproduction of "Boats of the Friendly Isles."
 Artist: Wm. Hodges. Plate 42, betw. pp. 18 & 19 in Vol. II, James Cook, *A voyage*
towards the South Pole . . .
- 4 "Vue d'Un Hanger abritant la pirogue de guerre du Chef Palou." Artist: de Sainson.
 Plate 74 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette*
"L'Astrolabe" . . .
- 12 Top: "Costume de guerre." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 72 in Dumont d'Urville,
Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe" . . .
- 13 "Woman of the Friendly Islands." Artist: Piron. Plate 30, betw. pp. 168 & 169 in Vol.
 II, J.J.H. de Labillardiere, *Voyage in Search of La Perouse* . . .
- 14 "Vue Interieure de la Maison des Femmes du Chef Palou." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 73
 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .
- 27 "Map of Tonga." Betw. pp. 150 & 151 in Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly*
Islands
- 28 "Portrait of Poulaho, King of the Friendly Islands." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 3, facing p.
 454 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .
- 29 "The Natche, a Ceremony in Honour of the King's Son, in Tongataboo." Artist: J.
 Webber. Plate 42, facing p. 466 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, &*
Complete Collection . . .
- 30 "Vue de l'un des Monumens destines a la Sepulture de la Race Royale." Artist: de
 Sainson. Plate 95 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette*
"L'Astrolabe" . . .
- 31 Top: "Tombeaux des Chefs." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 101 in Dumont d'Urville, *119*
Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe" . . . The following is a list
 (the reader may be interested in comparing this information with that reported by ⁷⁶⁴
 McKern in 1929) of those who were supposedly buried in each respective *langi*. ₇₆₆
 indicated by numbers on the map, as reported in 1827 to the members of this French
 exploring voyage:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. A Tu'i Tonga named Fatafehi. | 6. Four Kings. |
| 2. Five Kings. | 7. A King. |
| 3. A King and his wife. | 8. Kings named Tu'ipulotu & |
| 4. A child. | Fatafehi, plus two others. |
| 5. A King. | 9. Four Kings. |

10. A small child.
 11. Tongamana, grandfather of the chief Havea; also the chief Tu'i.
 12. Grandmother of the chief Havea.
 13. Tomb in memory of the chief Telea, who was lost at sea.
 14. Finau, a chief who met Cook.
 15. The chief Tafoa.

'Oku pehe ko e ngaahi telio'anga eni, 'o fakatatau ki he ngaahi fakamatala na'e ma'u 'e he kau folau 'a Dumont d'Urville:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Tu'i Tonga ko Fatafehi. | 9. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa. |
| 2. Kau tu'i 'e toko nima. | 10. Tamas'i pe ta'ahine. |
| 3. Tu'i mo e kuini. | 11. Tongamana, 'a e Kui 'a e 'eiki ko ia ko Havea. |
| 4. Tamas'i pe ta'ahine. | 12. Kui fofine 'a Havea. |
| 5. Tu'i. | 13. Mala'e fakamanatu 'o e 'eiki ko Telea 'a ia na'e molo 'i tahi. |
| 6. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa. | 14. Finau, 'a e 'eiki na'e fakafe'iloaki kia Kapiteni Kuki |
| 7. Tu'i. | 15. 'Eiki ko Tafoa. |
| 8. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa, kau ai 'a Tu'ipulotu mo Fatafehi. | |

113 31 Bottom: "Tronc d'Arbre, de 100 pieds de circonference, pres de Moua." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 75 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"*...

32 [Langi] Betw. pp. 46 & 47 in Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*.

34 Top: "Tombeau de Pangai a Hifo." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 86 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"*...

34 Bottom: "Tombeau d'un Chef." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 95 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"*...

35 "Portrait of Otago, or Attago, a Chief at Amsterdam." Artist: Wm. Hodges. Plate 49, facing p. 141 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection*...

36 "George Tubou, King of the Friendly Islands." Frontispiece in Rev. Thomas West, *Ten Years*...

38 "The Reception of Capt. Cook, in Hapae." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 46, facing p. 450 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection*...

[199] 39 "A View at Anamooka." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 29, facing p. 447 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection*...

[501] 40 "Consultation a l'Esprit pour un enfant malade." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 77 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"*...

- 643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or 'heaven'; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of
many of the stones, some of which measure over
20 ft. in length.
- 173 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu'i
643 Tonga have been preserved, and their history
curiously reminds us of the story of the Carolin-
gians and Merovingians in France. One of the
Tu'i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and
his son and successor Kau'alufonuafekei, from
weariness or fear, devolved the duties of govern-
ment on his younger brother, reserving to him-
self the honours and emoluments of the office.
His brother assumed the title of Tu'i Ha'a
Takalaua ('King of the Takalauans'), and soon
got all the power into his hands, the Tu'i Tonga
becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations,
however, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua became effete,
and the government was handed over to another
branch, called the Tu'i Kanokubolu ('King of
Kanokubolu,' the town in which he lived). This
is the title of the present dynasty. Representa-
tives of the other two lines, however, still exist,
but the titles are not used. The representative,
however, of the Tu'i Tonga holds even now a
quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the
gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are
used for all his movements.
- 114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Vaechi
(vol. II p. 80). This part of his narrative is very perplexing,
as neither Vasson nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs
knows anything about him.
- 192 The word used all over Polynesia for 'religion,'
'worship,' 'prayer,' etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately
this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies 'a
seeking for something that is hard to find.' Thus
when famine prevails, the people *lotu kua*, i.e. go
all over the land looking for food. It is also used
for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an
outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
companions. This is not the only word common
to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan.
197 *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in
Tongan that something which might be opened is
closed. These and other considerations lead one
to think that the Tongan language comes nearer
than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian
tongue.
- 782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few.
There was nothing in their religion corresponding
to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
782 —rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery—
789 or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such
as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would
seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and
pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to
sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this
was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was
very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate
the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we
181 would gladly believe his favourable report of the
181 Tongan character. But all our information—and
114 much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts
his statements. He even contradicts himself. The
Feanow he speaks so highly of was a monster of
iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries
theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost every-
thing in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in
Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's
honour, was safe for a day.
- 782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a
piece of kava root for making the native drink was
[793] a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually
brought in addition, and presented to the god or
his priest. One of the party would then state the
object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant
their request, or use his influence with the gods of

769
776
779

778
776
779
[782]

776
779
[178]

192
776
779
[114]

114
769

776
779
643

643
195

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

612 their *ulu i famili* do not coincide with those whom he considers to be his *famili* members. Judging from these two facts, the *famili* organisation seems to be not solid and not well structured.

Generally, there is a more or less close consanguineal relationship between an *ulu i famili* and the members of his *famili* organisation which includes the people of three or four generations whether lineally or collaterally related. When the organisation becomes larger, it breaks up easily, as if unconsciously. That there is nothing to bind its members to the *famili* organisation, such as the land property or group name, may make the organisation loose and easy to break up. Added to this, the functional role of *ulu i famili* is limited to the ceremonial occasions that occur very rarely in one's life, and people may not be conscious of *ulu i famili* until they need him. The man who belongs to Pualiki could not answer the question who would be the next *ulu i famili* after Pualiki's death.

612 The looseness of *famili* organisation might be related to the family structure itself. If the patrilocal extended family were a basic form, the family would continue over generations and people would easily identify the descent of *ulu i famili*. But most of the households consist of a nuclear [59] family which does not last over generations and this makes the descent of *ulu i famili* obscure. A man of an historic family like Leka is supposed to be an *ulu i famili* of a large *famili* organisation. Unexpectedly, in fact, only four families of his brothers, grandson, and 32, whose relation to him is unknown, belong to him.

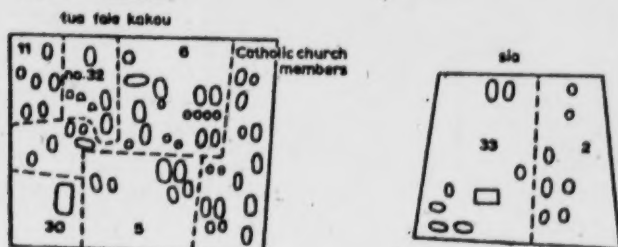
IV THE FUNCTIONS OF *Famili* AND *Famili* ORGANISATION

612 Then what functions have the *famili* and *famili* organisation, if any, and on what occasions, and to what degree, do they work?

Malas

764 There are two cemeteries; one is called *tua fale kakau* and the other [79] *sia* which is much smaller than the former. In fig. 4, the *tua fale kakau* is shown. On its northern side there is a section for Catholics who are a minority group in the village. In the central area, the graves of Leka's ancestors occupy a large space, upon which 11 and 32's graves encroach. A small section on the southern side is reserved for 30. *Sia* is located in the *api tukuhau* of 33 which is occupied only by 2 and 33.

FIG. 4 Cemetery



MACHIKO AOYAGI

Malae is thus divided by the several kin groups but without an actual fence of demarcation. The people buried in a section of *malae* roughly coincide with those who belong to the same *famili* organisation, but not always. There are mainly three reasons for this discordance. Firstly, it is not allowed to dig a grave in the same spot for about five years after the last burial, which means that one who dies within the five years may be buried with members of another family. Secondly, belonging to a section in the *malae* seems, in the main, to be patrilineally decided; a wife may belong to her husband's place, children except married daughters to their parents' place. But the dead may, under some circumstances, be buried in a section on the basis of their relationship with mother or wife. In the section of 30 at *tua fale kakau* 30's father as well as his unmarried daughter and 4's son were buried in these years. 30's father was born in Mu'a and came to this village to marry. When he died, he was buried at the corner of the Pualiki's section, probably because Pualiki's sister was his wife. Since then, the section of 30 seems to have acquired its position separately from the main section. Thirdly, a local bond is also recognised in deciding the section in which one shall be buried. For if a person from another village happens to die while staying here with some family, he will be buried in the section to which the family with whom he was staying belonged. A woman married out of the village died while she was back at her native home. She was buried beside her parents' grave.

Church Affiliation

All Tongans are Christian. We can not understand fully the village life without Christianity. There are a number of religious observances for example, attendance at church service several times a week, strict keeping of the Sabbath, prayers before each meal and before going to bed, which are integral parts of daily life for the villagers.

The Free Wesleyan Church, the largest in the Kingdom, holds a large majority of the village members. After this sect come the Free Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church and a few Mormons in this order. There are three churches in this village. The Free Wesleyan Church and the Free Church of Tonga have professional stewards who stay here during the term of their service. The steward of the Catholic Church is a villager. The Mormons go to church in the next village. The following table shows the church affiliation of the *famili* organisation.

The basic principle in church affiliation is that a wife should follow her husband, and the children should follow their father, which indicates a patrilineal principle at work. But this is not always the case, as is shown in the table. In one case the elder brother (11) is Catholic while the younger brother (15) is Mormon. They may change their affiliation, for example in accord with the school-religion in which they were educated, or sometimes of their own free will.⁽¹²⁾ 32 gives an example. He was a member of the Free Church of Tonga until 1956, but some unpleasant matter in the church made him and all the members of his nuclear family change their membership to the Free Wesleyan Church to

12. Beaglehole 1941: 128-129.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

male relatives of the mother and in her generation or not. When the father's brothers or mother's sisters are indicated separately from the true father or mother, a descriptive term such as *tokoua o'e tamai* or *tokoua o'e fa'e* is used. The word for mother's brother, *tuasina* described by Gifford⁽¹⁶⁾ and Koch⁽¹⁷⁾ was not obtained, and I think *fa'e tangata* must be much more popular than *tuasina* today. Also in daily conversation the term *tokoua* for the siblings of the same sex is widely used, instead of *taokete* or *tehina*. 601/114

As a term for a spouse, *unoho*, *ohoana* and *hoa* by Gifford are completely replaced by the English term *mali*. For a man, his wife, his wife's sister and his brother's wife are all denoted by the term *mali*, and for a woman, her husband, her husband's brother and her sister's husband are her *mali*. The complementary term to *mali* is *matapule* which indicates four kinds of relation; for a man, his sister's husband, his wife's brother, and for a woman, her brother's wife and her husband's sister. A woman's brother's wife and man's wife's brother are grouped by Gifford under the name of *mo'a*,⁽¹⁸⁾ a term which I could not elicit. Gifford thinks that *matapule* is an honorary term which applies only to the higher rank of man's sister's husband and woman's husband's sister, but it is used reciprocally regardless of rank or status. 601/114 554

He mentions that the father's sister's husband is also called *tangata eiki*, chiefly man.⁽¹⁹⁾ But *tangata eiki* is an honorary term to be extended not only to the father's sister's husband, but also to the father and to a man not related. For example, when one indicates "your father" or "your husband," it is used as a pure honorific expression, not a kinship term.

There are no special terms of address at all. Even by their own small children people are addressed by their own personal names. 601

The Norm of Kinship Behaviour

As already pointed out by a number of writers, kinship behaviour is precisely defined according to the rank of an individual within a network of kinship. The norm the villagers think they should observe today is variously defined in accordance with the relationship involved. 602/554

Parents and Children

Father and children: It is *tapu* for both sons and daughters to touch the father's head, to use his clothes, bed, combs and to eat the food he does not finish eating. Upon his death, they cannot stay inside a house where the corpse is laid. The attitude towards the father's brother is the same as towards the father. The head of a nuclear family is the father who is responsible for the management of the household affairs. When sons and daughters want to marry, they should consult their father, and if he forbids the marriage, the only way to effect their purpose is to elope. 593/784/602/664/604/592/584

Mother and children: There is no *tapu* towards the mother. Either sons or daughters may use their mother's or sister's bed, clothes and combs.

16. Gifford 28.
17. Koch 1955: 71.
18. Gifford 1929: 29.
19. Gifford 28.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

- 602 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
603 The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
784 food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
[264] to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

- 593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out-
784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
[291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
[513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
[516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
[521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
[764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
[264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
[516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
[195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
[521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa-
[585] tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
[764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
[535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
[276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
[521] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
[758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.
[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother
to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.
Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
[816] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

604 Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece

- 602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
[601] the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (*mehikitanga*) and nephew and niece (*fakafotu*)

- 602 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
[601] the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
784 may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
[764] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
[601] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. 553
The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's 602
relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of 593
residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in 604
birth significance to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal
relative's desire to name a child.

VII — WEDDINGS AND FUNERALS

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial 612
occasions such as weddings⁽²¹⁾ and funerals. I will describe these cere- 554
monial procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour. 585

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' 764
consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to 128
him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy 584
makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* 276
(big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy 574
eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept
their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon
as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili*
will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The
marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is 276
prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink. 574
The first cup of *kava* is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the
second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later
after *faitohi* the wedding takes place.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father 585
cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, 252
the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihi*, *kei* (both, a kind of mat) 292
and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths 352
and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his 292
followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom
sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakaseangai*, 585
attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this 276
occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,⁽²²⁾ then by the groom. 574
If they do not want to drink, the *fakaseangai* may drink it in place of
them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, 262
and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully
chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom/
and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her
family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even
their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes
to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. 585
Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kis*. The bride
and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

21. Collocott 1928: 221-2, Beaglehole 1941: 91-92, Koch 1955: 75-81.

22. Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that
is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, including one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala paongo* and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net and cloth.

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body immediately. If the dead person is a woman, her mother, sisters or mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight *langanga* for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother, mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *vala lotu* is laid. They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*. Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu* that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns, weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihi* and bark cloth, and the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell, they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns. *Liongi*, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup) and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Meanwhile, one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morning. The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go to any present *matapule*.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u*, and wrap the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima*, named *kumifonua*. Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua*, is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.⁽²⁴⁾ For the funeral feast, *pulua*, *fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant. [276] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule*. Sometimes *pulua* [579] is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral, when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

Years ago, *lioni* cut their hair to show their grief and even now 765 they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.⁽²⁵⁾ The family [302] and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten [784] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted, [513] and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers [602] wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but [292] the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held and the relatives from a distance return to their home village.

VIII — SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON RAMIFICATION AND STRATIFICATION

In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation 121 and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information. 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is 114 of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to 114 *ha'a*. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to 565 commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

24. According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga*, undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.

25. Koch 1955: 88.

Coolantern or a Coleman lamp.

[361] In addition to town allotments, the residential
[362] sector of the village includes three churches, a government-
[312] owned concrete water tank for collecting rainwater, and a
malae or 'village green'. The malae is the large open
[366] space between the noble's house and the main road. Except
[368] for the churches, the only non-residential structures in
[743] the village are six privately-owned shops (each set on a
corner of the owner's 'api'), four privately-owned sheds,
and an open-sided thatched structure at the side of the
malae, which serves as a Baby Clinic when the visiting
[871] nurse makes her bi-weekly visit. Motulahi is also served
[764] by four schools and three burial sites or cemeteries, all
[368] of which lie adjacent to or near the boundary of the
[366] residential sector. In its lack of offices or coffee-shops,
[368] Motulahi is typical of Tongan villages. The many churches
and nearby schools are also typical.

History of Settlement at Motulahi

[128] The following data, which portray the history of
[121] settlement at Motulahi, serve to flesh out the national
statistics relating to processes of migration to Tongatapu.
These materials also indicate something of the operation
of the system of land tenure and particularly how operation
of the system is an integral part of the relationship
between the tofia owner and the people of his village.

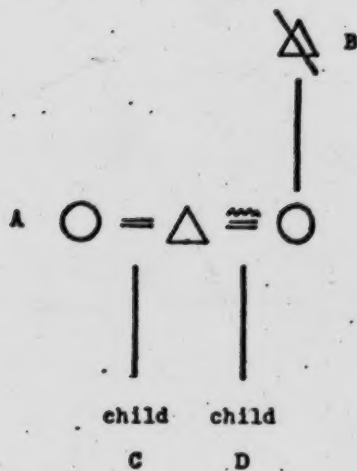
612
764 From time to time, groupings based on kainga relationships come into being. The most typical of such occasions are funerals, when kainga members of persons who are closely related to the deceased come to the funeral. It should be noted that they come on account of their relationship to the bereaved, not the deceased. This was made clear to me in the following way. At one of the first funerals I attended, I noticed a group of people who were dressed in formal mourning (black clothes and large tattered mats) and carrying elaborate wreaths. I did not recognize them, and asked someone who they were. I was told that they had come "by way of (or through) hala". Since they were walking in single file along the side of the road and hala can be translated as 'path' or 'road', I was somewhat irritated by this reply. I asked again how they were related or connected to the deceased, and again I was told that they were not kin of the deceased but had come by means of hala. Eventually, it was made clear to me that the term 'hala' is used metaphorically to refer to the tracing of kinship relationships (the route or path along which the relationships are traced). All the mourners in question were close consanguineal kin of the person marked A in Figure 4. I was told that they had come to pay their respects at the funeral of B because of the half-sibling relationship between C and D. They

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

152

FIGURE 4

The Case of the Mourners Who Came Hala



612 were kainea of C, and C in turn was kainea to D. Similarly,

744 at a funeral held on the island of 'Eua in March 1970, two women (both from Motulahi) made a joint presentation of goods. The basis for their having made a joint funeral contribution can be explained by reference to Figure 5.

They themselves (K and N) were not kainea of the deceased (P), nor were they kainea to one another, but each was kainea to her grandchildren (Q1 and Q2 respectively), and the grandchildren were kainea to one another and also

[602] closely related to the deceased. In short, it is not affinal ties that link people in kainea-based relationships, but ties that are reckoned to be traced through consanguineal connections.

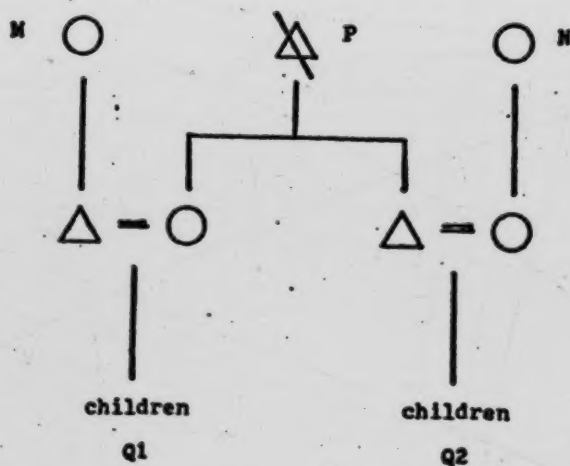
612 Finally, there is the fāmili, a kin-based group that
621 cuts across kainea connections. Membership in the kainea --if it may be called 'membership'--is simply a matter of genealogical relationships; membership in the fāmili, although founded on kin ties, is defined by participation in the activities of the fāmili. While kainea is mainly a relationship category, fāmili is an action group which supplies members' households with goods, labor, and personnel when they are needed, as well as access to land for subsistence purposes. Thus, while kainea ties transcend local boundaries (for a person's kin may be anywhere in Tonga, or elsewhere for that matter), the fāmili is essen-

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

154

FIGURE 5

The Case of the Grandmothers' Joint
Funeral Presentation



At funerals,
621 which are widely attended by adherents of different deno-
823 minations, people may be asked to group themselves
● [764] according to village-membership to facilitate the distri-
621 bution of food. People may even be maligned through refer-
186 ence to the folk reputation of their village or island--
823 a stereotypic reputation based on certain events in Tongan
history. For example, on one occasion I was accompanying
a group of basketball players from Motulah to a match in
a village a few miles away. Just as we came there, we
passed a group of youths scuffling at the side of the road.
The young women beside me turned to me and remarked:
"Look at that, Sulamita. The people from--naming that
village--are known to be ruffians, and see how true it is!"
This reputation is based on a notorious episode involving
people of that village that took place during the civil
war. Other villages may be associated with elements that
confer positive distinction. Thus, the village of Lapaha
on Tongatapu is celebrated as the traditional seat of the
Tu'i Tonga, the village of 'Uiha in Ma'apai is associated
with Tāufa'āhau (the founder of the present ruling dynasty),
the village of Fea on Tongatapu is highly regarded among
Tongan Catholics as the first village where Catholic
missionaries were welcomed, and so on. People who identify
themselves with these villages take some pride in their
village's place in history. However, a village's historical

DOMESTIC KIN GROUPS

Within the domestic sphere, Tongans distinguish three kinds of kin-based groups.⁽³¹⁾ There is the household group, the '*api*', which is defined in terms of common residence and consumption and includes also the sharing of land that is held locally by members of the '*api*'. Members mainly and usually, but not necessarily, are all close kin to one another. Most households are based on an elementary family or on a three-generation extended family group, numbering 2 to 32 individuals with an average of 7 persons per household.⁽³²⁾ In many cases a household includes attached individuals—related lineally, cognatically or affinally—who have moved in for a few days, a few weeks, or even a few years.

The second kind of grouping is the *kainga*, which is an ego-based personal kindred that does not include affines. From time to time, groups based on *kainga* relationships are activated. The most typical of such occasions are funerals, when members of the *kainga* of close relatives of the deceased come to pay their respects. They come because of their relationship not to the deceased but to the bereaved. A *kainga*, then, is an unrestricted grouping with an ego reference, based on consanguineal kinship.

Finally, there is the *famili*, which cuts across the *kainga*.⁽³³⁾ *Kainga* is mainly a relationship category while *famili* is an action group that provides goods labour, and personnel when they are needed, as well as access to land for subsistence purposes. While *kainga* ties transcend local boundaries, the *famili* is a village-based group and, like the household, it is a local group that includes affines. Membership in the *kainga* is simply a matter of kinship relationships; membership in the *famili* is defined by participation in the activities of the *famili*.

The constitution of the *famili* is even more troublesome to delineate than that of the *ha'a*. Like the *ha'a*, it has features that make it look like both a non-unilinear descent group—that is, a sept—and a stem kindred; but it could also be described as a loose association of households linked by consanguineal ties. The core or stem of the membership of any one *famili* consists of a number of adult individuals in the village who are related to one another as siblings or as descendants of siblings, both male and female. The total membership of a *famili* includes these individuals, their children and grandchildren, the spouses of these people, and any other persons who are more than merely transient members of their households. Membership, however, is completely optative; a person can be affiliated with a *famili* so long as he or she is able to claim a kinsnip connection with the *famili* and have that claim accepted by the *famili*'s membership, even if the geneological connection is more remote than usual.

31. Beaglehole 1941; Aoyagi 1966; Morton 1972.

32. Fiefla 1968. These figures on household size are from the 1966 Tonga Government census. In 1970, in a village census of 145 households, I found household size numbered up to 26 individuals, with an average of 8 persons per household.

33. Aoyagi devotes considerable attention to a description of the functions and organisation of the *famili*. She uses the terms "*famili*" and "*famili* organisation" to refer to what I have identified as the *kainga* and the *famili*.

1777]

ROYAL HOSPITALITY

[135

upon an uncul[t]ivated point, so that there were no people who properly lived within half a mile of us, but even at this distance, amongst such a Multitude of strangers, one might have expected their houses to have been much Crouded; it was quite otherwise, they lived as retired as if there had not been a man in the neighbourhood; all the Strangers lived in little temporary sheds and under trees and bushes; the only thing that seemed to suffer was the Cocoa-nut trees, which were striped of their branches to make sheds for the chiefs. In this walk we met with about half a dozen Women in one place at supper, two of the Company were fed by the others, on our asking the reason, they said Tabu Mattee.¹ On further enquiry, found that one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corps of a Chief, on which account she was not to handle any Victuals for five Months, the other had done the same thing to a nother of inferior rank, and was under the same restriction but not for so long a time. At a nother place hard by we saw a nother Women fed, she had assisted in washing the Corps of the above mentioned Chief.

SATURDAY 21st. Early the next Morning the King came on board to invite me to an entertainment he proposed to give the same day. He had already been under the barbers hands, his head being all besmeared with red pigment² in order to reden his hair which was naturally of a dark brown. After breakfast I attended him a shore and found his people very busy in two places in the front of our area, fixing in an upright and square position (° °) four very long posts, near two feet from each other. The space between the post[s] were afterwards filled up with yams, and as they went on seized³ sticks a cross from post to post at the distance of about every four feet to prevent the posts from seperating by the weight of the yams. When they got to the top of these post[s] they fastened others to them and so continued till each pile was the height of 30 feet or upwards. On the Top of one they placed two baked hogs, on the top of the other a living one and a nother they tied by the legs about half way up. It was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised these two piles, had our seamen be[en] ordered to do such a thing, they would have sworn it could not be done without Carpenters and the Carpenters, not without a dozen different sorts of tools, and the expence of at least a hundred weight of nails and after all it would

¹ *tabu mate*.

² Probably some local ochre, as Cook uses the word 'smeared'. Powdered turmeric was often used, but does not seem to fit in to this description.

³ A nautical use of the word, here merely meaning bound. Normally a rope would be seized to another rope or to something else, by binding the two parallel together.

138]

[1777]
Resolution AND Discovery

[June

122 Having now some leasure time before me, a party of us accom-
 Thur. 26 paned by Fattafee the King, set out early the next Morning in a boat
 for [Moa] the Village where the King and other great men usually
 reside.¹ As we went up the Inlet we met with the Prince with fourteen
 226 Canoes fishing; in each canoe was a triangler net extended between
 two poles, at the lower angle was a Cod to receive and secure the
 fish, they had already caught some fine Mullet, and put about a
 dozen into my boat. I desired to see their method of fishing, this they
 readily complied with, a Shoal of fish was supposed to be on one of
 the banks which they in a instant inclosed in a long net like a Seine
 or set net, this the fishers surrounded with the triangler nets in their
 hands with which they scooped the fish out of the other, or caught
 them as they attempted to leap over it. They shewed us the method by
 throwing in some of the fish they had before caught, for at this time
 there was none to inclose in the net so that we could not see the cer-
 tainty of the method, but it appeared to be a very sure method.
 648 Leaving the Prince and his fishery we proceeded and soon arrived at
 the Village. As soon as we landed the King desired Omai to tell me
 649 that I need be under no apprehensions for the boat or any thing in
 her, for not a single thing would be touched by any one whatever
 and so it proved. We were immediately conducted to one of his
 houses not far from the one we had been at before, but this tho pretty
 large, seemed to be a private one and was situated within a planta-
 tion. The King took his seat at one end of the house and the people,
 who came to visit him, sat down as they entered in a simicircle at
 the other. The first thing done was to make a bowl of Cava and
 order some yams to be baked for us, while these were cooking Omai
 and I accompanied by one of the Kings servants Walked out to view
 the place. The only thing we met with worth mentioning was a
 76 larg[e] Affi-a-too-ca* or burying ground belonging to the King, a
 532 Wall of stone inclosed three separte Mounts and on each of these
 Mounts stood a house, under which as we were told, the dead are
 buried, but there was nothing of this sort to be seen; the floors of
 these houses were covered with loose fine pebbles and like wise the

[361] ¹ Mu'a, anciently Lapaha. *Mu'a* means 'first': it was the first, the capital, village, and
 [644] the seat of Tongan government for six centuries. The three really great men who resided
 [344] there were the Tu'i Tonga, in the area called Lapaha; the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua in that,
 [164] much smaller, called Moalunga; and the Tu'i Kanokupolu, in that, larger again, called
 Tatakamotonga. The Tu'i Tonga had his great *mala's* there, and there were the *langi* or
 royal tombs; as also the burial places of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, but not of the Tu'i
 Kanokupolu. McKern has a full description in his *Tongan Archaeology*, pp. 92-101, with an
 interesting plan, p. 95.—The name, in square brackets, in the text has been supplied by
 Douglas in a large space left for it by Cook, and is supplied similarly below as M[oa] and
 [Moa].

* *fa'itoka*.

1777]

A COUNTRY WALK

[139

tops of the Mounts round the houses, there were a few rude Images of the human figure, of different ages. We were told they were there as monuments to the Memory of the dead and not the representation of any Deity.¹ Such monuments they seldom raise for these seemed to be very old. In one of the house[s] was the Carved head of an Otaheite Canoe which had been driven a shore on their coast and deposited here. After dinner, or rather after we had refreshed our selves on what we carried with us, some of us took a Walk into the Country making a pretty large circuit attended by one of the Kings Ministers,² our train was not great as he would not suffer the rabble to follow us, he also obliged all those whom we met to sit down till we pass'd a respect due only to their Kings. We found by far the greatest part of the Country cultivated and planted with one kind of production or a nother and the most of these plantations were fenced round. Some old Plantations lay uncultivated or in fallow, and there were places that had never been touched but lay in a state of Nature but even these places were usefull in affording them timber &c³ with which they were generally covered. We met with several large uninhabited house[s] which we were told belonged to the King or the Lord of the Manor;⁴ there were many publick and well beaten roads and as many foot paths leading to every part of the island. The roads were good and the Country level consequently traveling was easy. On the most elevated parts, we met with coral rock close to the surface, perforated and cut into all those inequalities we see them in the wash of the sea, yet these very rocks with hardly any soil upon them were covered with a luxuriant vegetation. We were conducted to several little pools and some springs of Water, but the most of them were either stinking or brackish tho recommended as excellent.⁴ The

¹ These three mounts seem to have been the great *langi*, called Tuoteau, Katoa and Tuofefafa, with a smaller fourth one in front, unnoticed by Cook, called Tauatonga. Cook does not mention stone-work, apart from the wall, so the stone of the *langi* may have been heaped over with earth. These lay to the north of the eastern side of the great *mala's*, and in front of them was a smaller *mala's*. Within them were the stone vaults or burial chambers. The houses, *faletolia*, were set up to protect the central part of the covering of fine black volcanic pebbles, called *kilikili*, which marked a vault. The information about the 'rude Images' being 'monuments' or commemorative figures was probably correctly gathered: cf. II, p. 251. The Tongans did not carve representations of their gods.

² No doubt a *metapule*, one of the non-chiefly but important officials on whom administration so much depended, attendant on a chief and sometimes his spokesman.

³ By 'Lord of the Manor' Cook presumably means an '*riki*, a great chief or 'noble', whose power, under that of the Tu'i Tonga, was territorial, as well as extending to the persons of the common people.

⁴ Williamson, 20 June, provides a dissenting opinion: '... I have great reason to think that fresh water might be had by sinking a well at some distance from the lagoon, & am the more confirmed in this opinion from the many wells of delightful water, which we met with during our perigrinations, some not less than thirty feet deep, & made extremely neat & clean.'

[Facing p. 144-C]



[1777]

54: Cook G, T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

PL. 18. View of a 'Fyatoeka'
Drawing by Webber.—B.M., Add. MS 15513.11

164

146]

[1777]
Resolution AND Discovery

[July

651 tinued to sing short sentences, while a number of other men were
 796 coming in with Yams, each tied to the middle of a pole. In the mean
 123 time the King and the Prince came and seated themselves on the
 1482 area, and we were desired to sit down by them, to pull of our hats and
 untie our hair that we might appear the more decent. The men with the
 yams being all come in, each pole with the yam was taken up between
 two men who carried it over their shoulders; and after forming them-
 selves into companies of ten or twelve they marched a cross the place
 with a quick pace each company headed by a man bearing a club or
 spear and guarded on the right by several others armed with differ-
 ent Weapons. A man carrying a live Pigeon on a perch Closed the
 rear. Omai was desired to ask the Cheif where the yams were going
 to be carried to, he answered to be baked. This appeared probable
 enough as we had been told that the occasion of this ceremony was
 him and his Son eating together, a thing that had never yet been
 done.¹ However as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we
 wanted two or three of us followed them contrary to his inclination.
 We found they had stoped before a Morai or Affiatouca,² which was
 hardly a quarter of a Mile from the place where they first assembled;
 here they were making up the yams in bundles but for what purpose
 could not learn, and as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness
 we left them and returned to the Cheif, who told us we might amuse
 our selves by walking about awhile for that nothing would be done
 for some time; the fear of losing part of this Ceremony made us not
 be long absent. When we returned to the King he desired me to order
 178 the boats crew not to stir from the boat, for as every thing would very
 688 soon be *Tabu*, who ever was found walking about would be *Mated*,
 that is killed or beat. He also informed us that we could not be present
 651 at the Ceremony, but that we should be conducted to a place where
 796 we might see every thing that passed; objection were made to our
 123 dress, to be present it was necessary we should be naked as low as the
 breast with our hats off and hair untied. Omai offered to conform to

651 the present Keeper of the Palace Records at Nuku'alofa, informs me that 'the Tu'i Tonga
 796 himself directed everything at the Inasi, no one knew exactly what would happen. There
 643 were no fixed rules. . . . Stories are told about the Inasi, but there are no details for the
 644 actual ceremony itself and probably each Tu'i Tonga had his own arrangements for the
 performance.' Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 76-7) describes, from the memories of an aged
 informant of things seen in his youth, a ceremony, '(or perhaps entertainment)', that
 seems to have been one of the last traces of ancientry; but clearly this was of the 'inasi'
 proper. For what we may call 'the young Prince *inasi*', Cook and Anderson remain the
 only glasses in which we can see, darkly.

Eating together would imply complete equality, as of two co-existent Tu'i Tonga.

764 The two things are not the same. The *fa'itola* was the tomb structure, though it
 346 could also be a definite area about the mound where a chief's important retainers and
 distant relatives were buried (McKern, p. 31). The *maru* (Tongan *male's*) was in this
 context the open space for assembly in front of it.

1777]

TONGAN MASONRY

[173

till it is the length they intend it. The hollowed side of the log of wood is to receive the ends of the unworked cloth, so that they may be out of the way of the work women. They have of this cloth of different degrees of fineness, according to the bark on which it is made; the finest is made of the Chinese paper Mulberry tree.¹ The Courser sort of which they make very large piec[e]s does not receive the impression of any platen, but is made on the log only.² Of the finer sort, they have some that is striped, chequered and other patterns of different colours, but how these Colours are laid on I can not say as I never saw any of this sort made.³ All these sorts will resist water for some time and that which has the strongest glaze will resist it the longest.

The next considerable Manufacture is matting in which they exceed all the places I have been at both in texture and beauty. Many of those which are made of the bark of the Poerou⁴ so far exceed those they have at Otaheite, that they are not a bad article to carry their by way of trade. They also excell in making baskets, some are exceedingly neat and they have of them of many different patterns. It is almost needless to say that they make ropes and lines of all sorts, Nets for fishing, fish-hooks and all manner of fishing geer with the greatest facility. But in what I think they most excell in point of workmanship, is in the building their Canoes, for an account of which and the manner of Navigating them I refer to the narrative of my last voyage.⁵

Masonry Masonry I have seen none but in the walls that inclose their Morais and their is nothing extraordinary in them but the size of the Stones, some of which are ten or twelve feet in length, four or five in breadth and one or more in thickness.⁶ I examined several of these stones and found them composed of Coral sand and small Marine shells, and therefore concluded that they had been hewn from of the surface of the coral rocks. But even to do this with thier tools is no little work for before they got Iron they had only adze[s] of stone, a chissel of bone; a coral stone and sand and the Skin

¹ *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tahitian Aute, Tongan Hiapo. The dyed cloth thus described is properly called *agatu*, not *tapa* as in the other islands.

² It was made from the bark of the young breadfruit tree, Mei (Tahitian Uru). This plain cloth the Tongans called *tapa*; it was, says Mariner (II, p. 206), 'seldom worn, but is chiefly used for various purposes at funerals'.

³ With a small stick used as a brush, as is still done.

⁴ This was the Tahitian name, Purau, for the common *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. The Tongan name was Fau.

⁵ II, pp. 263-3, 447-8.

⁶ Cook's misuse of the word 'morai' (*mala'e*) has already been noted. The reader interested in the remarkable structure of *fa'itaka* and *langi* can do no better than refer to the extended account in McKern's *Archaeology of Tonga*, pp. 30 ff.

180]

[1777]
Resolution AND Discovery

[July

782 they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, nor any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of Hogs, Dogs and Fruit as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematical as their Morais are perfectly free from every thing of the kind; but that they offer real human sacrifices is with me not a doubt. Their Morias or Afiatoucas, for they are called by both names, but mostly by the latter, are as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, a burying ground and a place of worship, though there are some that seemed to be only appropriated to the first, but these are small and in every other respect inferior to the others.

764 As we never saw a funeral, I can give no account of the ceremony used on that occasion. We only know that the dead are buried in these Morias, probably in something like vaults, or as Omai called them (who was with me when I made the enquiry) stone coffens.¹

128 I shall conclude my observations on these islands and people with giving some account of the Astronomical and Nautical observations that were made during our stay among them. And first I must observe that the difference of Longitude between Anamocka and Tongatabu, is less by *Latitude and Longitude* than in the Chart and Narrative of my last voyage; an error that might easily arrise, as the longitude of each was found without any conection with the other, but now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that will not admit of the least error; and which the following table will illustrate.

131 The Latitude of the observatory at Tongatabu }
by the mean of several observations }

[1777] some (numerous ones—district gods, lineage gods and family gods) dwelt in a region in the west called Pulotu, to which the souls of chiefs and *matapule* made their way; but commoners came, as it were, to a dead end. They have a very Gentlemanlike notion of a future State, they firmly believe that Woweatooa never troubles himself about any one but the *Eggees* or *Gentlemen* but when they are dead they rot & return to earth & there is an end of them.—Bayly, 17 May. King, 5 July, has something to add. 'My friend Fattafai' he did me the honour to appear much affect'd during the time I was packing up the observatory, he with earnestness prest me to stay, & told me that he woud build a large house on the point w[h]ere our observatories stood, & that I shoud observe the heavens in peace. It shoud be observ'd, that when these people gave any opinion as to the use of the clocks & other instruments & the reason of our observing, they always supposed the Clock to be an *Eatōōa* (God) & that we were performing religious ceremonies to the Sun Moon & [c]; many of these notions of theirs were rather countenanc'd, as it was surely better to leave them with ideas of our having some religion than none at all & it is too true, that no other part of our conduct or way of spending our time, could furnish them with the smallest reason to suppose we had any Religion, indeed many of them woud ask who & what was our God, which we endeavourd to answer by saying he was theirs as well as our God, & corresponded with an opinion of their own of one Omnipotent being: the little we were able to learn concerning their religious tenets shall be referred to another place.

¹ The interpretation of 'stone coffens' as vaults is of course correct; but Cook might have omitted his 'something like'. They were indubitable vaults.

1777]

LIFUKA

[873

SUNDAY 18th. The wind E . Moderate breezes with good weather. The Gunner was employ'd to trade on shore and purchas'd a good many hogs, plantanes &c but the greatest supply we had was a present which Fee'nou made the Captain of a vast quantity of Yams, Plantanes, Sugar cane &c and two hogs, which was shar'd between the two ships. Amongst other things we purchas'd yesterday a fine green Turtle of above 300 Lib., & to day the decks were so crowded with the natives who came to barter or were incited by curiosity that it was almost impossible to stir.

MONDAY 19th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. We continued to barter with the natives on shore as yesterday and a great number were on board.

As we wanted to obtain some knowledge of the country some of us mention'd it to Fee'nou, who sent a person as a guide and to protect us from any insult from the natives. We travers'd nearly the whole island of Lai'fooga and found it in several respects superior to Annamooka. The plantations were both more numerous and extensive and we found large spots well planted with the *Morus papyrifera* (paper Mulberry),¹ but in many places towards the sea, especially on the east side, the country is still waste owing perhaps to the sandy soil, as it is much lower than Annamooka or its surrounding isles. Towards the middle of the island the soil is better and much better inhabited than the other parts, for we met here with very large plantations, fenc'd in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form'd fine spacious roads that would appear an ornament in the most civilizd countrys. It however labours under the inconvenience of having no good water that we could see, for though we found several ponds the water was either very brackish or stinking, and in some large holes in the coral rock which is seldom above two or three feet from the surface it was no better than common sea water. At one place we saw an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with an arbour of low trees neatly contriv'd, under which our guide made us understand people sat to catch pigeons.² At another place was a house four or five times as large as the common sort with a large area of grass before it which seem'd a place for the people to resort publickly to;³ and near the landing place we saw one of their burying grounds, which was a mount two or three feet high coverd with gravel and had four or five small huts on it, in which they said the bodys of some of their principle people were interr'd.⁴ Most of the

¹ *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tongan Hiapo.

² Tongan male's.

³ One of the mounds called *sialupe*.

⁴ A *fa'itoka*.

884]

[1777]

ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[June

114 water, and we had an opportunity time enough to warn our consort of the danger by firing three swivels.

In the fore noon we attempted to work up towards Hafaiva (which is the largest isle hereabouts) between Pootoo poo'tooa & a shoal that lies NE from Kotoo, but making little progress and the same weather being likely to continue, we came to an anchor at noon in fifty fathom a coarse sandy bottom about a mile WBN from Pootoo poo'tooa, Fotoohaa bearing nearly NNE, Kotoo swbs, and the shoal to the NE of it SSE and SE. The Discovery also came to soon after a little to the NE of us. Several Canoes came off from Ha'faiva with Cocoa nuts & Plantanes and in the morning we sent the pinnace on shore to Kotoo with our Indian guests, who were so heartily tir'd of their short Voy[age] that they had once prepar'd themselves to swim to it. Their greatest distress was with respect to their food, for they were not fond of Pork dress'd after our manner and liv'd chiefly on Yams. In the evening we caught a large Snapper of twelve or fourteen Lib. and a Grooper of the same size.

132 MONDAY 2^d. The wind SE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in the forenoon, but afterwards clearer. In the forenoon the Captain went on shore to Kotoo, which is scarcely accessible to boats from the coral reefs that surround it. It is not more than a mile and a half or two mile long and not so broad. The NW end is low like the islands of Hapae, but it rises suddenly in the middle and terminates in reddish clayey cliffs at the SE end about thirty feet high. The soil thereabouts is of the same sort as in the cliffs but in the other parts it is a loose black mould. It produces the same things as the other islands and is tolerably cultivated but is thinly inhabited. We saw Annamooka from the highest part of it and the Captⁿ thought he perceiv'd a clear passage about Toong'ooa and the other isles towards that place. Our people were employ'd in cutting some grass for the cattle and we planted some Melon seeds with which the natives seem'd much pleas'd and inclos'd them with branches. On our return to the boat we met with two or three ponds of water but it was very salt, and near them was one of their burying places that was much neater than those which were seen at Hapae.

Several Canoes came from the different islands to barter their cocoa nuts, plantanes &c and we observ'd that almost all of them as well as the inhabitants of Kotoo were affected with a violent cough and slight sore throat, which also made its appearance on board for two days past, perhaps from the sudden change to and continuance of the bad weather.

904]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[June

226 furnish'd, and wading up to the middle within the seine directed it slowly under water where they saw any fish, and rais'd it up pretty quickly, bringing the fish when the[y] caught any in it. We got a few
 114 mullet from them & then row'd to the bottom of the bay where we landed on going to see Mareewagge, from whence we proceeded to
 764 Poulahos house which was but a little way off. Almost close by it we found a Fya'tocka or burying place much more extensive and seemingly of more consequence than any we had seen at the other islands. It consisted of three pretty large houses situated on a rising ground or rather just by the brink of it, with a small one at some
 764 distance, all rang'd longitudinally. The middle house of the three first was by much the largest, and plac'd in a square 24 paces by twenty
 349 eight rais'd about three feet high, with the surface cover'd with shingle stones and the whole bounded by large flat stones of hard coral rock, properly hewn, plac'd on their edges, one of which measur'd twelve feet in length, two in breadth and above one in thickness. The others
 764 were plac'd on little mounts rais'd artificially to the same height and
 552 cover'd with gravel, one of the huts, contrary to what we had seen
 [349] before, being open on one side which we enter'd & found cover'd with shingle, with two rude wooden busts of men, one at the entrance the other farther in, the last of which from its appearance had been there perhaps several ages. On calling to some of the natives who had follow'd us to the ground but durst not enter here, to enquire what they were intended for, they made us as sensible as we could wish that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there.¹ A[t] the foot of the rising ground there is a large area or plat of
 764 grass with different trees about it, amongst which are several of those
 137 call'd Etôâ very large, which resemble the Cypress & have a fine effect in such a place. There is also a row of low palms near one of the houses & behind them is a ditch in which was a vast number of old baskets.

361 We travers'd the greatest part of the country about the bottom of the Bay which is call'd Mooa,² and found it perfectly cultivated for
 [311] above a mile back from the sea, and full of inclosures made by such fences as were seen at Ha'pae but they were more extensive and had
 [565] finer roads in the interspaces. The habitations within these inclosures are very numerous and belong chiefly to some of the principal people
 351 of the island, many of whom reside at this place. Each of them has a
 342 proper entrance or door, generally higher than the fence & of a sufficient breadth, which opens in the same manner as one properly
 417 hung upon hinges, behind which is a pretty large spar that rests with

¹ Cf. Cook, p. 199, n. 1 above.² Mu'a.

1777]

TROUBLESOME VILLAINS

[909

It rests upon a narrow base, the upper part projecting very considerably, and is cover'd with E Toa and Pandanus trees. At night there was a vast number of lights along shore to the westward which we supposed was the Indians fishing. 114
[193]

SATURDAY 28th. The morning calm but afterwards brisk breezes from WNW with fine weather till the evening, when it veer'd to the Sward with drizzling rain. The people employ'd as usual. 132

Few Canoes off and all the Indians have left the place near the tent except a few villains who are very troublesome & constantly endeavouring to commit some petty theft. They were so audacious as to throw cocoa nuts at some of our people (which however might in a great measure be imputed to their own imprudence in admitting these people to childish Libertys with them at first) and threaten them with clubs, for which we seizd three of them, tied them to trees and flogg'd them very severely, afterwards cutting a large cross in the arm of one with a knife which was certainly the least excusable part of the punishment. One of them was also fird at in the morning for some flagrant attempt of the same kind by a centinel, who certainly hit him, as he was seen to be supported by several others after crossing the small creek near the place. 648

SUNDAY 29th. The wind E. Moderate breezes with good weather. The people unemploy'd. 132

MONDAY 30th. The wind . . . Gentle breezes with dull close weather and some small rain the afternoon.

Two of us went along with Futta'faihe as visitors to his house which is at Mooa very near his brother Poulahos. A short time after we arriv'd they kill'd a pretty large hog which is done by repeated strokes on the head, and scrap'd the hair off very dexterously with the sharp edge of pieces of split Bamboo, taking the entrails out at a large oval hole cut in the belly by the same simple instrument. Before this they had prepar'd an oven which is a large hole dug in the earth, fill'd at the bottom with stones about the size of the fist, over which a fire is made till they are red hot. They took some of these stones wrap'd up in leaves of the bread fruit tree and fill'd the Hogs belly, stuffing in a quantity of leaves to prevent their falling out and put a plug of the same kind in the Anus. It was then put on some sticks laid across the stones in a standing posture and cover'd with a great quantity of Plantane leaves, after which they dug up the earth all round and coverd it closely up, leaving it to bake in that manner. In the mean time we walk'd about the country, but met with nothing 648
643
252
[231]
164

910]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[June

764 remarkable except a Fyatocka of one house standing on an artificial
 644 mount at least thirty feet high. A little on one side there is a pretty
 311 large open Area and not far from it a good deal of uncultivated
 196 ground, which upon enquiring why it lay waste they seem'd to say
 belong'd to that place which was Poulahos, and not by any means to
 be touch'd. There was also at no great distance a number of E'toa
 Trees on which clung millions of the large Ternate Bats¹ making a
 disagreeable noise. We could not kill any at this time for want of
 muskets, but some that were got at Anna'mooka measur'd near three
 feet when the wings were extended.

648 On returning our host orderd the hog that had been dress'd to be
 574 brought, with several baskets of bak'd yams and some Cocoa nuts,
 264 but we found that instead of his entertaining us we were to entertain
 [262] him, the property of the feast being entirely transferr'd to us his
 guests who were to dispose of it as we pleas'd. The person who cleand
 it in the morning cut it up (but not before we desird him) in a very
 dexterous manner with a knife of split Bamboo, dividing the several
 parts with such quickness and hit the joints so exactly that surpriz'd
 us very much. The whole was set down before us, though at least fifty
 pound weight, untill we took a small piece away and desir'd they
 would share the rest amongst the people sitting round, but it was not
 without a great many scruples they did that at last, and then ask'd
 what particular people they should give it to. They were however
 very well pleas'd when they found it not contrary to any custom of
 ours, some carrying off the portion that was given them and others
 eating it on the spot, but it was with great difficulty we could prevail
 on Futtafaihe himself to eat a small bit.

After dinner we went with Futtafaihe and five or six people who
 765 attended him to the same place where Poulaho had carried us in the
 [114] morning the last time we were at Mooa, but not into the inclosure.
 [824] They hung some leaves about their neck in walking to it as he had
 [304] done, and when we came to a large open boat house where a few
 people were they threw away their leaves, sat down before it and
 gave their cheeks a few gentle strokes with the fist, after which they
 sat for about ten minutes with a very grave appearance & went away
 [292] without having spoke a single word. Every person who went to this
 house of mourning had a mat tied over the cloth they wore which
 was also the case the day Poulaho went. This explaine what Poulaho
 had mentiond about Tooge, though from the beating only lasting a
 few seconds he had not been observ'd to do it; and this seems only a

¹ *Pteropus tonganus*; Cf. Bayly, II, p. 263, n. 3. This was evidently the bat that the Tongans called *tanetoe*.

920]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

137] to any country that produces them. The Boogo which is the largest tree of the country, and a species of fig with narrow pointed leaves are the most conspicuous for their size,¹ and on the uncultivated spots especially towards the sea the most common bushes and small trees are the Pandanus, several sorts of Hibiscus, the Faitanoo already mentioned and a few others. It ought also to be observ'd that [164] though the materials for forming grand Landscapes are wanting, [241] there are many of what might at least be call'd neat prospects about the cultivated grounds and dwelling places, but more especially about the Fyatokkas or burying grounds, where sometimes art, sometimes nature has done much to please the eye. From its situation towards 132] the tropic the climate is more variable than in countrys farther within that line, though perhaps that might be owing to the season of the year which was now the winter solstice. The winds are for the most part from some point between s and e, and when moderate are commonly attended with fine weather. When they blow fresher the weather is often cloudy though open, and in such a case there is frequently rain. It sometimes blows from that quarter for a fortnight together and will then veer to the NE, NNE or even NNW, but never lasts long nor blows strong from thence though it is commonly accompanied by heavy rain and close sultry weather. Very hot weather and lightning are almost sure presages of a change, and that commonly to rain, but seldom to strong winds which indeed from many circumstances are probably very rare here. The natives are 821] very sensible of the changeable weather and seem tolerable judges of what will happen, so far at least that they manage their sea affairs from such a knowledge, and are often glad at the approach of rain (though it is immediately disagreeable to them) from the advantage deriv'd to their Yams &c by it. The quick succession of Vegetables has been already mentioned, but I am not certain if the changes by which that is brought about are considerable enough to make them perceptible to the natives as to their method of life, or rather that 132] they should be very sensible of the different seasons. The heat often rais'd the Thermometer to degrees while we stay'd and I imagine when the sun is vertical it will not be above degrees more, so that if we consider the effect as produc'd gradually the difference cannot be very great; though perhaps the most convincing proof of this small change is the state of the vegetable creation which is never so much affected by them with respect to the foliage as to shed that all at once; for every leaf is succeeded by another as fast as it falls

¹ The Puko, *Hernandia ovigera*, can grow as high as 65 feet; and the *Ficus obliqua* upwards of 100 feet.

922]

[1777]

ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

184 height, and when broken off appears sometimes of a reddish though
 oftener of a brownish yellow colour & pretty stiff consistence. Where
 [137] the shore is low the soil is commonly sandy or rather composd of
 [241] triturerated coral, which however yields bushes with great luxuriance
 and is sometimes planted not unsuccessfully by the natives.

Of cultivated fruits the principal are Plantanes of which they have
 241 eighteen different sorts or varieties, Bread fruit, Jambos,¹ a sort of
 245 plumb mention'd in Captⁿ Cooks account of Otaheite call'd E'eevee,²
 and vast numbers of Shaddocks³ which however are found as
 241 often in a natural state as planted. The roots are yams, of which are
 244 two sorts, one black & so large that they often weigh twenty and
 thirty pound,⁴ the other white and long seldom weighing a pound;⁵ a
 large root call'd Kappe,⁶ one not unlike our white Potatoes call'd
 Ma'whaha,⁷ the Talo or Cocos⁸ of other places and another nam'd
 241 Jeejee.⁹ Besides vast numbers of Cocoa nut trees they have three other
 sorts of palms two of which are very scarce. One of them is call'd
 245 Beeco, which grows almost as high as the Cocoa tree, has very large
 leaves plaited like a fan, and clusters or bunches of globular nuts not
 larger than a small pistol ball growing amongst the branches with a
 very hard kernel which is sometimes ate.¹⁰ The other is a kind of
 Cabbage tree not distinguishable from the Cocoa but by being rather
 thicker and having its leaves more ragged. It has a Cabbage three or
 four feet long, at the top of which are the leaves and at the bottom the
 fruit, which is scarcely two inches long, resembling an oblong cocoa
 nut with an insipid tenacious kernel call'd by the natives Necoo
 164 goola or red cocoa nut, as it assumes a reddish cast when ripe.¹¹ The
 third sort is call'd Ongo ongo and much commoner, being generally
 found planted about their burying places. It seldom grows higher
 than five feet though sometimes to eight, and has a vast number of
 oval compress'd nuts as large as a pippin sticking immediately to the
 trunk amongst the leaves which are not ate.¹² There is plenty of

137 excellent sugar Cane which is cultivated, Gourds, Bamboo, Tur-
 114 meric, and a species of fig about the size of a small cherry call'd Matte,
 824 which though wild is sometimes ate;¹³ but the Catalogue of unculti-
 241 vated plants is too large to be enumerated here, especially as the
 244

¹ *Eugenia malaccensis*.² *Vi, Spondias dulcis*.³ *Citrus decumana*.⁴ *Dioscorea alata*, though the tubers are generally brown on the outside rather than black. They sometimes grow to an enormous size, 6 to 8 feet long, and weigh much more than 30 lb.⁵ ? *Dioscorea bulbifera*, the wild yam.⁶ Mahoa'a, *Tacca leontopetaloides*.⁷ Si, *Cordylone terminalis*.⁸ It was a sort of coconut: Niu kula, *Cocos nucifera* esp.⁹ It is called Longo-longo by the modern Tongans: *Cyrtos circinalis*.¹⁰ Modern Masi, *Ficus tinctoria*.¹¹ The Giant Taro, *Alocasia macrorrhiza*.¹² Taro, *Coleocaria antiquorum*.¹³ Piu, *Pritchardia pacifica*.

946]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

548 scrupled at our most intimate connexions with their women for a very moderate price, and absolutely converted it into a fix'd article of trade to their no small emolument. It should not however be understood that this is without exception universal, as there are many 836 889 women who either from their connections, natural timidity, or absolute aversion to such promiscuous engagements are not pregnable on any terms, independent of those who are understood to be married.

This extensive and gentle empire which Love has planted amongst them is so far from loosening that it cements the bands of Society. The sexes seem to live in the most perfect harmony undisturb'd by jealousy on either side,¹ and what is perhaps still more uncommon, that almost universal passion seems to be quite a stranger amongst the female part with respect to each other. Amongst the various 589 lovers that present themselves it may be easily suppos'd a woman will soon discover, either from interest or desire, one whom she would wish to attach herself to, & he probably from her assiduity to please will be fix'd from roving, from whence it is not uncommon to see such cases before a lasting union is agreed on as far as we could perceive from circumstances. When that has taken place the domestic felicity 163 599 seems to increase; for as they often become mothers at an early age their affection for their children and care in providing for them excites their industry in conjunction with that of the husband, and soon obliterates their wish for such unstable connections as before that period. When they cease to bear children they appear to gain 855 888 instead of lose respect, and though they then appear to have some weight in the management of the younger sort it seems ultimately to be left to the decision of the men, who though absolute exercise their power in a very gentle manner except in a few cases.

Their mutual affection does not cease on this side of the grave, nor 765 can they believe that death bereaves them of the merit of expressing their long grief by removing the object from their sight, and rendering it unsusceptible of the various proofs of their kindness. Nothing 764 however does them greater credit nor can be a greater proof of their humanity than the concern the[y] show for and decent disposal of the dead. Their mourning is, to use a common expression, not in 765 words but deeds, for besides the Tooge, burnt circles and scars 304 mention'd before they beat the teeth with stone[s], strike a sharks tooth into the head untill the blood flows in streams and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, the sides below the armpits, and through the cheeks into the mouth—all operations that convey

¹ But cf. p. 96a below, where a commoner and a chief's wife were concerned.

[1777]

MOURNING CUSTOMS

[947

an idea of such rigorous discipline that must require either an un-⁷⁶⁵
common degree of affection or the grossest superstition to exact. I will ³⁰⁴
not say that the last has no share in it, for in some cases it is so
universal that many could not have any knowledge of the person for ^[166]
whom the concern is express'd—such for instance as the case men-
tion'd of the people of Tonga mourning the death of a chief at
Va'vaoo; unless we allow that it is customary to have a general
mourning for persons of eminence, as seem'd to be the case on our
arrival at Tonga, when a great number of the people who had been
with us at Annamooka cut off their hair for a chief who had died at
Tonga a month before, and at the same [time] it should be observ'd
that the painfull operations are only done by the nearest connections.
When a person dies he is buried the same day, after being wrapp'd
up in matts and cloth, much after our manner: the chiefs in this case ⁷⁶⁶
having the Fyatoockas appropriated to them but the common people ^[164]
are interr'd in no particular spot. What part of the mourning cere-
mony follows immediately after is uncertain, but that there is some-^[765]
thing besides the general one we were inform'd of from the death of
Mareewagges wife, who died while we were there and was to have
five days spent for that purpose by all the principal people in com-
memoration of her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death ⁷⁶³
as a very great evil, and this is confirm'd by an odd custom they
practice to avert it, for when they suspect themselves in danger from ⁷⁸²
sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity. ³⁰⁴
The operation is perform'd with one of their stone hatchets with
which they make a tolerable stump, but never cover it afterwards, ^[152]
leaving these and all other sores expos'd to the air; nor do they seem ^[757]
to have any method of assisting the cure of diseases of any kind, the
only instance I saw being some incisions made in a large swelling in a
mans arm to discharge the matter by. There is scarcely one in ten but
are thus mutilated in one or both hands (which is sometimes done
on the illness of their chief as well as themselves) and has a dis-
agreeable effect, many being cut so short that they have incroach'd
on the bone of the hand which joins to it.

There is another custom amongst them call'd Taboo whose precise ⁷⁸⁴
meaning we do not well understand. The word itself implys no more
than that a thing is not to be touch'd, and therefore every thing that
is under such restriction for certain reasons is said to be Taboo'd. It
seems a custom of great force and extent and in some measure may be
reckon'd of the sacred or religious cast, relating to things hallow'd
and forbidden. Thus the Fya'tocka at Poulaho's house was not to be ^[164]
^[651]

948]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

784 enter'd by the people, the Ceremony call'd Natche was Taboo'd to
 [764] all but those assisting in it, and in short it is the common expression
 [65] when any thing is not to be touch'd, unless the transgressor will risque
 some very severe punishment as appears from the great apprehension
 they have of approaching any thing prohibited by it. In some cases
 784 it appears to resemble the Levitical law of purification, for we have
 764 seen several women who were not allow'd the use of their hands in
 264 eating but were fed by other people. On enquiring the reason of it at
 one time they said that one of the women had wash'd the dead body
 of the chief already mentiond who died at Tonga, and another who
 had assisted was in the same predicament, though then a month
 784 after the circumstance happen'd. It also serves as a temporary law or
 262 edict of their chiefs, for sometimes certain articles of food are laid
 101 under the restriction, and there are other circumstances regulated in
 the same manner as trading &c when it is thought necessary to stop
 it; nay it is probable that the additional word taboo to the name of
 the island which is simply Tonga has been added from this very
 custom as expressing its singularity.

784 From the extent and rigid severity with which some of these
 [775] mourning and religious ceremonys are executed one would expect to
 find they think it would secure them felicity in a future life, or some
 other material good, which is really the case but it relates to things
 merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future
 punishment for faults comitted in this life. They however believe
 that they are justly so on earth and consequently use every method
 to avoid or rather not to deserve the punishment annex'd to them.

[776] The supreme Author of most things they call Kalla foo'tonga¹ who
 [82] they say is a female, resides in the skys and directs the thunder,
 [82] winds, rain and some other things that seem to proceed from thence.
 [753] They alledge that when she is angry with them the productions of
 [761] the earth are blasted in consequence of it, many things are destroyed
 by lightning, and they themselves are afflicted with sickness & death
 as well as hogs & other animals—evils so great to them that it is no
 wonder they should endeavour to avert them by all the means in their
 power. When this anger abates every thing is restor'd to its natural
 order and it would appear they think it a consequence of their
 776 endeavours to appease it. They have no representation of this
 778 divinity, who they say is invisible, but there is little doubt that they
 pay that adoration due to their ideas of her power and perfection,
 though not discoverable from any particular external posture that

¹ Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 289-90) thinks this goddess was properly named Calla
 [?Kala] Filatonga, but otherwise cannot identify her.

1777]

THE TONGANS

[1037

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds, made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone, Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, & 3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing in them; these Cemeteries called in their Language Dano¹ are kept very neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.² They have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cock-pit, they call them Ejee.³ Their Manufactures are of various kinds, that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner, others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit upon on extraordinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

¹ *tano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery in general; *fa'itaka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

² *sic*; *fa'itaka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

³ *eri*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

1777]

THE TONGANS

[1039

nearly like that of Otaheite & they blow into it through the Nose, but make very indifferent Music of it. The Mimia is made like the Pipe of Pan with nine fistulæ tyed together of different Lengths, they draw them along the Mouth & blow into them, but I never found that they made any thing like music out of them. The Drums are made of large cylindrical Pieces of wood like a Garden roller & excavated, which must cost them much trouble to do with their Tools; a Slit just wide enough to get the Hand in is made from one end to the other & there is no hole at either end, they beat them with 2 Sticks. Other musical Instrum^{ts} if such they may be called have been already mentioned in the account of the Dances at Happai. 534

Their carving they execute very neat, this art is chiefly employed by them in ornamenting their Clubs, which they carve all over with the shape of Men, Birds, Dogs & Fish &c. in different parts, and fill up the whole with strait & spiral Lines in various directions & they sometimes inlay them with bone, as they likewise do their Stools that they use for pillows tho' they never carve them, they also carve the handles of fly flaps in the same Manner that they do their Clubs, & they have small sticks carved two of which they put between their fingers & clap together in the same manner that Children in England do with Stones. They have small Images of Men & Birds made of Bone which they sometime[s] wear about their necks as ornaments. They polish their different Manufactures of wood with a file which is made of a piece of wood covered with the Skin of the Shark. 532

The general appearance of the Island is very beautiful it being entirely covered from one end to the other with Cocoa nut, Breadfruit & other fruit trees, it is low, there being not a single Hill or any considerable rising Ground upon it; it is long & narrow being about 133 in Length & 137 broad. On advancing into the interior part of the Country nothing can be more pleasing than the appearance of their Houses and Plantations & of the Cocoa nut, breadfruit and Plantain Trees loaded with fruit & the large fields of Yams which are to be met with all over the Island, over which you travel along delightful Lanes between the Wicker Partition of the different inclosures, & here & there is a burying place and a large building much larger than the dwelling Houses, which seems appropriated as a public Hall for the use of a district to meet in to transact public Business or to perform their Dances, or as they were situated near the burying places they perhaps perform some Ceremonies in them at their Funerals. There were generally two or three Seats hewn in the Pillars that supported the Building which seemed to be for the reception of the Priests or Chiefs; in these Houses they 344 311 241 164

[1777]

1050]

SAMWELL'S JOURNAL

[July

122 Sunset came to an anchor. We are bound for the Island of Middleburgh called by the Natives Oo-hā.¹

FRIDAY JULY 11th. Weighed & sailed, turning to windward all the Afternoon, got through[h] the Passage, & by midnight having weathered the Easternmost Part of Tongataboo, we stood to the ssw for Oo-hā.

609 SATURDAY JULY 12th. This forenoon we came to an anchor between the N & W Points of the Island Oohā or Middleburgh about 2 or 3 miles distant from the Shore. Many Canoes came round the Ships. Captⁿ Cook went ashore & a Market was opened for Provisions on a Platt of Ground near the landing Place, the King of the Island attended Captⁿ Cook on board who sent him ashore with many presents, & among the rest he gave him a Ram & a Yew, which he set a greater Value upon than Malawagee had. Pheenow had proposed to accompany us hither, but was prevented by the Death of some old Woman of distinction whose funeral he was obliged to attend, & on whose account he had the Hair of his Head cut off according to the Custom among these Islands.

439 SUNDAY JULY 13th. Our Boats ashore trading for Provisions & some Canoes about the Ships.

609 TUESDAY JULY 15th. Captain Cook, Omai & some other Gentlemen went ashore & others to trade for Provisions. In the Place where the Market was held an Indian was killed by some of his Countrymen; it seems that his Crime was endeavouring to force one of the Agee Girls, when it was so highly resented by her Friends that accidentally seeing him among the Croud they fell upon him with Clubs & put him to death; the Man threw himself for Protection among our People but they could not save him. In the afternoon two of the Resolutions people, walking in the Country, were stripped & beat 648 by the Indians, they came naked to our People at the Market place 685 who gave them something to throw over them. Captⁿ Cook being ashore sent for a reinforcement of marines, which arriving soon after had such an Effect upon the Agee or Chiefs that not only the Clothes were returned but one of the Thieves was delivered up, & he was carried Prisoner on board the Resolution where the poor fellow expected to be put to Death. However he was ransomed next day for a large Hog.

142 Considering the small Distance between this Island and Tongataboo the difference between the Natives is remarkable, these being

¹ 'Eua.

1312]

[1777]
APPENDIX III

000 that nothing remain'd of the Ear, but the outside fleshy Skin; this I understand was for the reception of some Ornament, which was fashionable at their Isle, but having nothing in it now, it hung about their Shoulders.

175 The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that tho' these Friends of

411 ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction, that they do not attempt an imitation, but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs,

177 which they find so infinitely inferior Weapons, they have Bows and Arrows, with which they Shoot Birds & Fish, but have no idea of improving them

175 to nobler uses, tho' they have the Example before their Eyes. They tell us, the Fidgi Gentry frequently eat their Prisoners, & deem a good jolly

829 Carcass of a Man the most delicious Fare in the World, so much so, that the Feast is wholly devoted to the Gentry, the lower Class not being suffer'd to taste: they give us so particular an account of this Business & at the same time it is so universal among them, that for my own part I have no doubt of its Authenticity, and that they do deem it a choice repast.

175 Every principal Family among our Friends, here, have a particular burying Place, which they call their Mori; it is form'd by throwing up an

764 Elevation about 6 or 8 feet above the general Surface of the Earth, which they render compact by facing it with large Stones or Sod; a very large one

766 in particular at Amsterdam, was fac'd with Stones which they had hewn [349] for that purpose, about a foot thick, 5 or 6 in length, & 4 or 5 in breadth;¹ in the middle of this rising is a House into which the dead Body is carried &

[764] buried. These Elevations of the Mori's are from an 100 to 2 or 300 yard, in circumference, they are held very sacred; nobody goes near them but the

[565] People of the Family: it wou'd be Death to one of the lower Class of [688] People to enter one of the little burial Houses, & I much query if it wou'd

175 not, to be seen walking over the Eminence of the Mori. There must be a great deal of Pain in their Mourning Ceremonies for their Friends here,

765 they make a confounded howling & beat their Faces just upon the Cheek Bone, till the Blood & Tears flow most abundantly. I believe the more

heartily they beat themselves, the greater Compliment they are suppos'd to pay to the deceas'd; they must have some very persuasive Inducement,

for 'tis almost incredible to what a degree they torment themselves upon

[785] these Occasions. A very fine Lass, a particular Friend of Feenow's, with whose Household I was very intimate, made herself such a fright (in

honour of old Mallawogga's wife, who was a friend of hers, and died whilst we were there) that I absolutely knew no more of her at our next Meeting,

than if I had never seen her in my Life: that mutilation of the hand by cutting off the little finger, is certainly a ceremony at the death of their

Relations; I enquir'd the particulars of this Circumstance of many of them; they all told me, the right hand finger was devoted to the father, and the

left to the Mother.²

¹ This was evidently a *langi*, or royal tomb.

² This last detail of the propitiation ceremony so often referred to is found nowhere else, but is not impossibly true.

Behavioral correlates for the named kin types can be summarized as follows: 601 -

Avoidance—demanded of siblings and parallel cousins of opposite sex (i.e., between *tuofesine* and *tuonga'ane*) and all cross-cousins related through the father (i.e., those whom your father calls *'ilamutu*). 602 - 612 - 554 -

Near equality—among siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex (i.e., *tokoua*).

Restraint and obedience—demanded of males and females to *mehikitanga*.

Welfare and direction—demanded of *tamai* to their *'ofesine* and *joha*.

Satisfaction of wants, familiarity, and warmth—demanded of *fa'e* to *tama*.

Demanding and demeaning—appropriate of males and females to *fa'e tangata* and cross-cousins related through the mother (i.e., whom ego's mother calls *fakafotu*) and of females to the children of *tuonga'ane* (*fakafotu*).

No restraints—between *kui* and *mo'opuna*.

These behavioral categories are based on the three principles of status outlined above: (1) those kinsmen who are related through the father have higher status than ego, while those related through the mother have lower status than ego; (2) females have higher status than male kinsmen of the same generation, which results in avoidance;⁶ and (3) elder has higher status than younger among siblings of the same sex.⁶ 602 612 554

The extension of these principles to the generation below ego results in the sister's children of a male ego being higher than his own. This category of person, his *'ilamutu* (children of his "sisters") are *fahu* to him. A *fahu* can take any of ego's possessions; for example, a *fahu* may go to ego's farm and take a pig without even asking for it. Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations to his *fahu*. (The closest English gloss for *fahu* is "above the law.") On the other hand, the children of ego and the children of his brothers are under his immediate direction, and he is responsible for their welfare and decisions, which he usually makes for them. Ego is not responsible in this way for his sister's children; her husband and his brothers have this responsibility. One's cross-cousins are not terminologically distinguished in ego's own generation. They are, however, distinguished in practice—ego's behavior to them is the same as the behavior of his parents, who do distinguish them terminologically. For example, if a cross-cousin is called *'ilamutu* by ego's father, ego treats this cross-cousin with the respect due to someone of higher rank, just as his father does. 612 602 604 - 554 - [593] - 612 602 605 - 601

These categories are determined by birth and do not change in an individual's lifetime. Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives her anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions. 612 554 602

Let us use a funeral as an example of how these categories of individuals interact. When ego dies, three groups of people assemble.⁷ Those of his father's kinsmen are *'eiki* (chief), those of his mother's side are *tu'a* (common),⁸ his wife and her kinsmen are neither low nor high. Family 612 554 764 602

178 ETHNOLOGY

groups bring gifts of mats, tapa, and food, and present them first to the head of one of the three groups, depending on how they are related to the deceased. The gifts are recorded and taken to the house where the dead man lies on a pile of mats and tapa. At his head are one or more persons who are *fahu* ("above the law") to him, i.e., his father's sister, his sister's children, or others of the same kinship categories. The family group bearing the gift presents it to the *fahu*, and each kisses the dead man. After this, the way in which one is related to the deceased determines his course of action. Those whose status is higher than the dead man, i.e., related through the dead man's father, can either stay in the house near the corpse or join the kava ring outside.⁹ Those whose status is lower than the dead man, i.e., who are related through the latter's mother, go immediately outside. Here the males prepare the earth oven, the food from which will be distributed after the burial. The females prepare tea and bread, which is eaten before the actual burial, and plait coconut-leaf baskets. The baskets are filled with food from the oven, and one is given to each person who attends. Those who have come to the funeral because they are kinsmen of the dead man's wife, and who are not related to the deceased, may follow either course of action. The deceased's children help with the cooking and do not enter the house until it is almost time for the burial. At this time they kiss the corpse and immediately leave the house. Nonkinsmen who attend can stay in the house, join the kava circles, or help with the cooking and basket plaiting, their choice usually depending on what their friends are doing.

Among the *kāinga* everyone knows his position with regard to everyone else present. The kin term itself reflects the appropriate roles required by the principles of status. These principles predetermine each person's course of action in any family social activity, regardless of other statuses he may hold in the society. Even the highest noble in the land must prepare the earth oven at the funeral of his father's sister, while a commoner of no material wealth may sit and drink kava if he is a descendant of the deceased woman.

Inheritance among the *kāinga* uses some of the same principles, but with quite different results. First, although women have higher status than men in most social relationships, they do not inherit. Second, inheritance is reckoned patrilineally; material wealth, mainly in the form of land, passes from father to son. Third, by the rule of primogeniture, the eldest son inherits. Thus in inheritance the relative age of siblings is of considerable importance in contrast to the small importance it assumes in other social relationships.¹⁰ The eldest son inherits, becomes the head of the family, and is expected to look after his brothers. His sisters are presumably supported by their husbands, although a man looks after his sisters until they are married and gives first fruits and other gifts to them throughout his lifetime.

A man can inherit matrilineally only if his mother has no brothers. In this case he is said not to inherit from his mother, but from his mother's father, so that the patrilineal emphasis is maintained by skipping his

612
554
764
602612
554
602

[764]

612
554
428612
554
428
593612
554
428

188 ETHNOLOGY

in favor of a high chief with strong alliances. A chief's "people"²⁶ need not be related to him by blood, but rather are associated with him by virtue of living on the land (*tofi'a*) which goes with his title. 613
554
565
[611]

DISCUSSION

Inequality is a conspicuous feature of Tongan social organization, but dominance and subordination do not operate in one dimension. Rather, Tonga can be characterized as having multi-dimensional ranking, and not all of the dimensions fit into one pattern. In any discussion of rank it is necessary to specify *kāinga* status; inheritance within the *kāinga*; class rank; or *ha'a* rank. For each kind of rank a different combination of principles is involved: *kāinga* status depends on maternal and paternal principles, sex, and age; *kāinga* inheritance depends on primogeniture within the patrilineal group; *ha'a* rank depends on segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga line (an individual ideally tracing his *ha'a* through his father's line); and class rank depending on one's genealogy through both mother and father. 554
554
565
613
612

It is interesting to note that when Tongans discuss rank they often do so with reference to "who cooks for whom."²⁷ In our example of the funeral, the cooks are those related through the mother of the dead man, especially the *liongi* (see Note 8). At the funeral of Queen Sālotē in 1965 the *liongi* were those related through her mother, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga line, and especially the present Kalanivalu, who is her *tama'a tu'asina*. Kalanivalu was *liongi* to her because of their *kāinga* relationships, even though his *ha'a* rank derives from the Tu'i Tonga, while her *ha'a* rank derives from the Tu'i Kanokupolu. 554
565
613
612
764
644

Ha'a are societal divisions comprised of individuals associated with ranked titles. *Ha'a* have political and ceremonial functions and are of significance only to those in positions of power or potential power and are known mainly by chiefs who stand to benefit by power play or tradition. Most Tongans today (and probably traditionally) do not know the relative ranking or origin of the various *ha'a*, because these are affairs of the chiefs and do not concern them. 613
554
565
184

Aoyagi, who worked in Tonga in 1962 and 1963, states (Aoyagi 1966: 150) that "*ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I made enquiries." Her failure to elicit information on *ha'a* is not because they do not exist, but because she asked the wrong people about them. She worked with commoners, mainly in Nukuleka, which is a village under a *matāpule*, rather than a chief. Any noble, chief, or member of his family, however, can tell one without hesitation to which *ha'a* they belong and with what senior *ha'a* they are associated. At the kava ceremony held in connection with the coronation of Tupou IV on July 6, 1967, the present title holders of the various *ha'a* took part, and they were well aware of their positions and duties within the framework of the societal structure. Aoyagi (1966: 173) takes both Gifford and Sahlins to task for characterizing Tonga as an internally stratified system, saying: 613
554
565
114
[276]
[574]
[643]

He [Gifford] wrote that "the whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs," which is not the case of the *famili* organisation at

RANK IN TONGA 191

satisfied to take a rear seat to those whom they feel to be intellectually inferior.

It would seem that Tonga will not cease to be a rank-oriented society. Rank is endemic to Polynesian society and no doubt will continue to be an organizing factor in Tongan social and societal structures. The principles of rank will probably shift to a greater emphasis on achievement, which indeed was true at the time when Tupou I appointed his legal nobles from a large choice of chiefs. At that time achievement was based on warfare and ability. After the nobles were appointed, however, the traditional principles of rank took over, and in effect they changed only in small details that functioned in such a way as to make major changes unnecessary. This may continue to operate in the future, with educated commoners marrying the daughters of chiefs to elevate their descendants' class rank. But it is hard to see how *ha'a* rank will continue to be the vehicle of political power play. Already there are two educated commoners as Cabinet Ministers, and it seems probable that, not too far in the future, office holders by virtue of tradition will operate in a sphere of influence that is separate from real political power, which will then be in the hands of nontraditional leaders operating under new principles of rank.

NOTES

1. Research in the Tonga Islands was carried out for one and one half years from 1964 to 1967 and was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health, and by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties the late Queen Sālote Tupou III and the present King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV as well as the many Tongans who helped me in my work, especially the Honorable Ve'e'hala, keeper of the Palace records, who was especially helpful in traditional and genealogical information. I would also like to thank Raymond Firth, Alan Howard, Roger Green, Ward Goodenough, and Marshall Sahlins for reading and commenting on this paper. Most of the information was collected in the field; there was little reliance on earlier published accounts of Tonga. The reader will note that frequently details do not agree with Gifford (1929) but that in many ways Tongan social organization was the same in 1967 as it was in 1920.
2. Rank as manifested in material culture and language will be the subject of a subsequent paper.
3. The term *matakali* is also in use today. The word is a borrowing from Fijian *mataqali* and refers to a group not necessarily related by traceable blood ties.
4. A woman may differentiate her *tama* by the terms *tama jefine* (female offspring) and *tama tangata* (male offspring), but it is not necessary to do so because her behavior to them is the same. A man, however, elevates his daughter over his son and correspondingly differentiates them terminologically.
5. See Gifford (1929) and Beaglehole (1941) for customs relating to brother-sister avoidance.
6. *To'oua* can be divided into *ta'okete* (elder sibling of the same sex) and *te'hina* (younger sibling of the same sex). The principle of relative age has little importance here; in fact, descendants of two brothers or two sisters are often termed *kāinga tau* (fighting relatives) because they often argue over which one is higher. This principle does have importance, however, in inheritance.
7. The example assumes that all have the same class rank.
8. A dead man's *tama 'a tu'asina* (children of his mother's brother) and the *tama 'a tu'asina* of his mother (children of his mother's mother's brother), are known as *liongi* (for funerals only).

192 ETHNOLOGY

9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and *tuonga'ane* ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the topics of conversation. 612 554
10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the required role. 602 764 574
11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights. 554 565
12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a*; however, they can often trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership, because "such things are affairs of the chiefs." 423
13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowledge among most Tongan adults. 000
14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The *Kauhala'uta* lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the *Kauhalalalo* lived on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'hala, a chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i Tonga line. 554 565 613 616 115 127
15. See Figure 1.
16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e* of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers dancing did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the participants' point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the formal significance of this dance presentation. 554 565 613 616 612 535
17. The *Falefa* were the original *mātapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mātapule* were recruited from the *tu'a* (commoners) or brought from Samoa. 173
18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupō, originated by segmentation from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are included in *Falefisi*. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and *Fale Fisi* presented here differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not consistent. 173
19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different *ha'a* but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are not lineages by the usual definition. 643 644
20. See Figure 2.
21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states. 616 613
22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a mat and resembled one man with three heads. 554
23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word itself means "Besh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata was from Upolu, Samoa. 565 173
24. The title *Tungi* is presently vacant; the last *Tungi* is now King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV.
25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross-cousin marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin 613 554 565 581 582

POTTERY SHERDS FROM TUNGUA

172 sites. The Ha'ateiho line of chiefs belongs to Falefisi, which is the patrilineal
644 line of the Tamahā, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's sister's daughter.⁽⁵⁾ The origin of this
[559] line is traced by tradition to a chief of Fiji. The Tamahā held the highest social
rank in Tonga and was the recipient of many gifts. Indeed, one of the traditional
barkcloth designs of Tungua is the 'akau ha'amo which represents the carrying
pole used by Tupou I to bring gifts to the Tamahā. A number of Tamahā lived,
at least part of the time, on Tungua and some of the Tamahā are said to be buried
there, including the last Tamahā, Amelia. I suggest that the pots were not made
in Tungua, but were part of the household-ware brought with the Tamahā from
Ha'ateiho or were gifts from other chiefly lines of Tonga and possibly Fiji.

172 It is possible that the distribution of pottery may be explained by the distri-
565 bution of living places⁽⁶⁾ of the high chiefs. Besides the Ha'ateiho line of chiefs,
323 which was associated with the high "social ranking" Tamahā, the three highest
"societal ranking" lines of Tonga were the Tu'i Tonga line and the lines of the
Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata). The Tu'i Tonga line
is associated with the Lapaha area and more anciently with Heketā (near the
Ha'amonga trilithon); the Ha'a Takalaua line with the Tatakamotonga area
(Lapaha and Tatakamotonga are collectively known as Mu'a); and the Ha'a
Ngata line with the village of Kanokupolu, i.e., four areas outside of Ha'ateiho
with a concentration of pottery-bearing sites (I have collected surface pottery in
all these areas). Ethnohistoric inquiry into the ownership of other pottery-
bearing sites might reveal similar chiefly connections, as well as the lack of such
connections in the sites with little pottery such as Atele⁽⁷⁾ and some of those
investigated by McKern.⁽⁸⁾

Archaeologists who have worked in Tonga seem to assume that pottery was
used widely by all levels of the society. However, what we know about the con-
sumption patterns of material culture in Tonga in the eighteenth century would
indicate that this was not necessarily the case.⁽⁹⁾ Certain kinds of material culture
were made primarily for use by the chiefs. Early migrants to Tonga (i.e., proto-
Polynesians) perhaps did make considerable use of pottery which could account
for the fact that a few potsherds are found almost everywhere. But I suggest that
the development of the Tongan hierarchical social structure and the decline of
pottery (and its decoration) went hand in hand and resulted in the retention of
pottery for use by the chiefs and their households. Though one might argue
that the exclusive use of pottery by chiefs goes against the notion of dropout
of decoration and elaboration, I propose an alternative explanation. That is, if
pots were no longer widely used, the mere fact that there were pots would make
them special and there would be no need for elaboration, especially at the end of
the sequence when few pots were used at all. At the middle of the sequence,
however, the decorated pots may have been used by high chiefs and undecorated
pots by lesser chiefs.⁽¹⁰⁾ This could account for the increasing attenuation of
Lapita decorated sherds which has been noted by archaeologists but not satis-
factorily explained.⁽¹¹⁾ Similar retentions and changes have occurred since the
[177] eighteenth century. Some items of material culture which would appear to have

5. See Kaeppler 1971b:181-183.

6. Items of material culture were not usually included as grave goods with Tongan
burials so there is no reason to expect that the appearance of sherds indicates a
burial ground. If sherds and burials are found in the same area, it is likely that they
are not contemporaneous.

7. Davidson, 1969.

8. McKern, 1929.

9. Kaeppler, 1971a.

10. See Kaeppler, 1971a:214-215 for an analogous elaboration of fly whisks which were
also used only by chiefs.

11. See Groube 1971:281, 302-304.

In aboriginal times, and this would be true for early-contacted Tonga as well as contemporary Tonga, informal *kava* sessions took place not only for general discussions, but also took place at various points in the life cycle. *Kava* ceremonies played an important part in celebrating births, weddings, and funerals. Aoyagi (1966:167-172) and Newell (1947:404) point this out for the twentieth century and as the nineteenth century non-missionary observer noted:

Breakfasted at Thomas Wright's: heard there of the death of the chief Luaka: went to see the funeral ceremony. The cava rings were formed (Bays 1831:121).

His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake has pointed out that *kava* drinking provides "a seal on all occasions" whether they be formal gatherings or informal gatherings (1955:48). When a person of importance visited somewhere, a *kava* session was held to honor the individual. When the above mentioned Dumont D'Urville landed at Tongatapu in 1827 he reported:

Soon after our arrival at the anchorage, a native came to present me with a great ceremony a green branch of *kava* (*piper methysticum*). Singleton [a European residing in the islands since 1806], whom I questioned about the reason for this gift, informed me that this branch had been sent to me by the old queen Tuoi-Tonga-Fafine, and that in doing so she did me a great honour. The branch put the ship under the protection of the gods of the country and would guarantee it against any misfortune. Consequently I received the sacred branch with respect and I had it planted in a spot within view of the ship, which seemed to please the natives who witnessed the ceremony (MS:1a).

The presentation of the root was a prelude to an elaborate *kava* ceremony which the French navigator subsequently took part in and which served as a "seal of approval" for his visit.⁴

In addition to *kava* ceremonies being important in the particular life cycle of the individual, *kava* ceremonies also play an important role in the organization of Tongan society in general. *Kava* ceremonies took place when individuals received their titles in Tongan society or when they were stripped from their title for some reason. When an individual is installed into a chiefly position, the essence of the installation, as Collocott has accurately pointed out, "is the calling into his place into the *kava*-ring, to receive his cup by his new title" (1927:38).

In 1938, for example, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV (then the Crown Prince) took part in an elaborate *pongipongi* ceremony when he received the title of Tupouto'a:

The *Kava* ceremony occupied two hours and was presided over by Queen Salote [Tupou III]. The [Crown] Prince was officially recognized as Tubouto'a and his position in respect of the *Kava* rings was confirmed when he drank a bowl of *kava* in his new name. . . . The *Kava* ring was composed of 150 Chiefs and Matabules (Masters of

FRAGMENT OF A CARVED BOX FROM VAVA'U

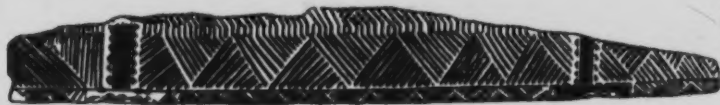
H. D. Skinner

In Vava'u in October, 1965, Tufua 'Utoikamanu showed me a number of pieces illustrating material culture of earlier times. Among them was a fragment about 48 inches long of a carved rectangular box made of breadfruit wood. She told me she had received it as a gift from her father, Fekaleaki 'Utoikamanu, who stated that he had secured it at Tu' anikivale, Vava'u. When complete it had been used to hold arrows (*uga hau*). Tufua believes the surface shown is the side of the box, but it seemed to me to be part of the bottom. Along one edge of the side it has two chisel-cut holes. It would appear that through these holes passed the cords attaching lid to body. Fekaleaki said he had intervened to preserve the fragment when the box had been carelessly mishandled. The decorative motive represents interlacing series of cords or braids, a motive frequently present in the decorative pattern of Tongan war clubs. This same motive is present also in Tongan stone work.⁽¹⁾ The box appears to be related to the Maori treasure-boxes often loosely called *waka-hula*.

Fekaleaki stated that many years ago his nephew told him he had been present when a body was being moved from an ancient grave. When the dressed stone slabs enclosing the grave were moved a wooden box was seen enclosing bones and hair. The coffin was decorated precisely in the style of the box here figured.⁽²⁾ When exposed to outside air the coffin crumbled to dust. The human hair and the bones were wrapped in fresh mats and were buried in a new grave.

REFERENCE

McKERN, W. C., 1929. *Archaeology of Tonga*. Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 60.



1. McKern 1929: Plate IIIC. "Incised decorations on stone of the Langi Katou, Mua, Tongatabu". Stone on right has pattern identical with that on box fragment.
2. The line drawing is by K. M. Peters.

FRAGMENT OF A CARVED BOX FROM VAVA'U

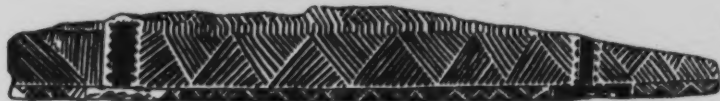
H. D. Skinner

In Vava'u in October, 1965, Tufua 'Utoikamanu showed me a number of pieces illustrating material culture of earlier times. Among them was a fragment about 48 inches long of a carved rectangular box made of breadfruit wood. She told me she had received it as a gift from her father, Fekaleaki 'Utoikamanu, who stated that he had secured it at Tu' anikivale, Vava'u. When complete it had been used to hold arrows (*nga hau*). Tufua believes the surface shown is the side of the box, but it seemed to me to be part of the bottom. Along one edge of the side it has two chisel-cut holes. It would appear that through these holes passed the cords attaching lid to body. Fekaleaki said he had intervened to preserve the fragment when the box had been carelessly mishandled. The decorative motive represents interlacing series of cords or braids, a motive frequently present in the decorative pattern of Tongan war clubs. This same motive is present also in Tongan stone work.⁽¹⁾ The box appears to be related to the Maori treasure-boxes often loosely called *waka-huia*.

Fekaleaki stated that many years ago his nephew told him he had been present when a body was being moved from an ancient grave. When the dressed stone slabs enclosing the grave were moved a wooden box was seen enclosing bones and hair. The coffin was decorated precisely in the style of the box here figured.⁽²⁾ When exposed to outside air the coffin crumbled to dust. The human hair and the bones were wrapped in fresh mats and were buried in a new grave.

REFERENCE

McKERN, W. C., 1929. *Archaeology of Tonga*. Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 60.



1. McKern 1929: Plate IIIC. "Incised decorations on stone of the Langi Katua, Mua, Tongatabu". Stone on right has pattern identical with that on box fragment.
2. The line drawing is by K. M. Peters.

[441 cont.]

175 crossed it, we met with a most delightful walk about a mile in
311 length, formed of four rows of coco-nut trees, which ended in
487 another lane between plantations of great regularity surrounded
by shaddocks and other trees. It led through a cultivated valley
to a spot where several paths crossed each other or met in one.

175 Here we saw a fine lawn covered with a delicate green turf, and
351 surrounded by large shady trees on all sides. In one corner of it
there was a house, which was empty at present, its inhabitants being
175 probably by the water's side. Mr. Hodges sat down to draw this
126 delightful spot. We breathed the most delicious air in the world,
175 fraught with odours which might have revived a dying man; the sea
[136] breeze played with our hair and gently cooled us; a number of small
birds twittered on all sides, and many amorous doves cooed harmon-
iously in the deepest shade of [442] the tree under which we were
[137] seated. The tree was remarkable for its roots, which came out of
the stem near eight feet above the ground, and for its pods of more
than a yard long, and two or three inches broad. This secluded
spot, so rich in the best productions of nature, where we sat
solitary with no other human being besides our two natives, struck
us with the idea of enchanted ground, which being the creation of
our own gay fancy, is commonly adorned with all possible beauties
at once. In fact, there could not have been a more desirable spot
for a little place of retirement, according to the elegant imagination
of Horace, if it had only been supplied with a crystal fountain or
[312] a little murmuring rill! But water is unfortunately the only blessing
[764] denied this charming little island. To the left of this spot we
[487] discovered a shady walk, that brought us to another grassy lawn, at

[442 cont.]

175 the bottom of which we perceived a little mount with two huts
764 upon it. A number of reeds stuck into the ground, at the distance
[487] of one foot asunder, encompassed this rising, and several
[417] casuarinas, with their slender branches and thread-like leaves,
[137] were planted before it. The natives, whom we had engaged to
accompany us, would not approach this mount; but we advanced and
looked into the huts, though with great difficulty, because the
bottom of the roof was not above a span from the ground. We found
a corse in one of these huts, which had been lately deposited; but
175 the other was [443] empty. Thus the casuarina or club-wood (tōa),
764 here, as in the Society Islands, pointed out the repositories of the
137 dead. Its dull brownish-green colour, and its long spreading branches,
171 where the leaves are thinly scattered and hang weeping down,
certainly become these melancholy places to the full as well as the
175 funeral cypress. It is therefore probable that the same train of
764 ideas, which consecrated the latter in one part of the world to shade
181 the tombs, might fix upon the former in these regions for a similar
175 purpose. The mount on which the huts were placed was formed of
764 small pieces of coral rock, like gravel, accumulated without any
175 particular order. From thence we proceeded a little farther, and
311 still found the same elegant plantations and the same kind of houses
361 in the middle as before. Our natives conducted us through one of
175 them, where they entreated us to sit down, and procured some coco
609 nuts, which proved extremely refreshing. At our return we found
175 our boats just ready to put off, and embarked with them immediately.
123 [609] We had only seen a few of the natives on our walk, who passed un-
concernedly by us towards the place where the captains traded; and

[449 cont.]

175 but which proved to be bats when we came nearer. They clung to
136 the twigs, by the hooked claws, which are at the extremity of their
[137] webbed fingers and toes; sometimes they hung with the head downwards,
and sometimes the reverse. We shot [450] at them, and brought
down six or eight at once, besides wounding several others which
held fast on the tree. They were of the kind which is commonly called
the vampyre (12), and measured from three to four feet between the

12. La Rougette, of M. de Buffon. Vampyrus of Linné,
and Pennant.

expanded wings. A great number of them were disturbed at our firing,
and flew from the tree very heavily, uttering a shrill piping note;
some likewise arrived from remote parts at intervals to the tree,
but the greatest number remained in their position, and probably go
out to feed only by night. As they live chiefly upon fruit, it is
likely that they commit great depredations in the orchards of the
natives, some of whom being present when we fired, seemed very well

175 pleased with the death of their enemies. We had seen some of
224 them who had caught these bats alive, and placed them in a cage of
wickerwork very ingeniously contrived, with an entrance like that
of a fish-basket, where the animal could easily be put in, but could

175 not come out again. They likewise assured us the bats were very
825 voracious, for which purpose they seemed indeed to be well provided
136 with large sharp teeth.

175 We had already observed at Tahitee, at the Society Islands,
764 and even at Ea-oo-we, that wherever we met with a casuarina, a
137 burying-place was at hand. Therefore, at sight of this venerable
[177] tree, which was hung with ill-omened creatures, we immediately conjectured
that it would [451] lead us to a cemetery or place of worship, and

[451 cont.]

175
764
137 the event shewed that we were not mistaken. We found a beautiful green lawn, enclosed on all sides by shady bushes and trees, amongst which casuarinas, pandangs, and wild sago-palms appeared with their various tints of green. A row of Barringtonias, as big as the loftiest oaks, formed one side of it, and shrewed it with their large blushing

175
764 flowers. At the upper end of it, there was a rising two or three feet high, set out with coral-stones cut square. The area above was covered with a green sod, like the rest of the lawn. Two steps, likewise of coral rock, led up to this part, in the midst of which a house was situated, exactly like that which we saw at Ea-oowhe.

Its length was about twenty, the breadth fifteen, and the height of the ridge ten feet. The roof descended sloping nearly to the ground, and was made of banana leaves. We entered into this building with only one of the natives, the rest keeping at some distance. We found the floor covered with broken pieces of white coral rock, and in one corner a heap of blackish pebbles, about eight feet long, which was

[304]
[763] elevated a foot above the white stones. The native told us that a man lay buried there, and pointing to the place where his little finger had formerly been cut away, he plainly signified that when his

[532]
[778] maduas or parents (13) died, they mutilated their hands. We found two

[171] 13. Perhaps any relations in the ascending line. pieces of wood a foot long, carved [452] into some resemblance of the human figure, like those which are called e-tee at Taheitee, but they were treated in the same manner, that is without the least degree of respect or veneration, being frequently trod upon and kicked about.

These burying-places, which are called a-Fayetoooca in the language of the country, are always delightfully situated on green lawns, and

[452 cont.]

175 surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described,
764 was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted
114 in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.
126

175 We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with
123 very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading-
175 place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations
123 without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity, nor distrust
609 and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the
contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently
175 characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses
351 and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully
184 situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated
1352 from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like
123 those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside.
[417] In that case only the area, which this fence enclosed around the
hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in

175 request with the natives. A walk of three [453] miles brought us to
133 the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which
Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped
imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the
north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places
it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely
of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe,
as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left
bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent
revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not
venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty,

[454 cont.]

175
123 by a number of them wherever he went. We were told that he had
565
[788] conducted our gentlemen to two fayetòocas, and had pronounced a
solemn speech or prayer, with his face directed to the building,
but at times turning to captain Cook, and addressing the words to
him, in a questioning tone. In these moments he always made a short
pause, as if he expected an answer, and seeing a nod ensue, proceeded
175 with his speech. Sometimes, however, his memory [455] seemed to fail,
565 upon which he was prompted by another man who sat near him. From
this ceremony, and the place where it was performed, we conjectured
175 that he was a priest. However, as far as we could see into their
771 religious notions, it did not appear that they practised any kind
171 of idolatry; neither did they seem to have any particular veneration
for birds like the Taheitiens, but to worship a supreme invisible
● [764] Being. What may have induced them, as well as the people of Taheitee
and the Society Isles, to unite their repositories of the dead and
000 their places of worship in one, remains in obscurity. The religious
tenets of a people are the last things which strangers become ac-
quainted with, whose knowledge of the language is commonly too
imperfect. Besides this, the dialect of the church frequently differs
from the common dialect, and thus religion is veiled in mysteries,
especially where there are priests to take advantage of the credulity
of mankind.

175 From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk
439 trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on. Here we bought
[293] a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and
[237] polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared
000 to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe. We likewise

[188 cont.]

554 descend even to servility in their obeisance to their king. At Namoka
115 we could not distinguish any persons of superior rank or authority,
unless we except the man, whom our sailors called a Custom-house officer,
302 and who inspected all [189] the canoes which came to the ship. The
554 woman who sent for the stolen things, appeared also to have some sway
115 among them; and since there is reason to suppose, that women whose
hair are allowed to grow long, have some prerogatives above the rest
in the South Sea (7). Mr. Patton's friendly benefactress seems to

7. See vol. I. p. 327.

have been a lady of a superior class, which her whole deportment confirmed. She was the only woman with long hair whom we saw on the island.

642 I am far from concluding that the people of Namoka have no fixed
115 government; on the contrary, their vicinity and similarity to other
islanders, amongst whom a monarchical government takes place, and the
example of all the other islanders of the South Sea which former navigators have examined, give the greatest room to suppose the same
184 existing there. The general coincidence of their manners with those
115 of Tonga-Tabboo, strongly prove that they have the same origin, and
probably the same religious notions; but not withstanding this
agreement, I never found a fayetooka or burying-place, during my rambles
upon Namoka, nor did any one of our shipmates meet with a place in
any wise resembling the burying-places which we found at Tonga-Tabboo.

184 It appears, from the accounts of former voyagers, that between
115 the meridians of 170° east from Greenwich, and [190] 180°, there is
a great number of islands, from the 10th to the 22nd degree of latitude,
all which, as far as they are known, seem to be inhabited by one race
of people, who speak the same dialect of the South Sea tongue,

591 consanguine of the headman.
592
613

The definition of matakali also has an historical dimension which requires an association of ancestors of the present headman with the village. There are four recognized matakali in Puke and twenty-two of the village households are recognized members of matakali. The other households are not considered to be matakali members. Persons in this latter category are not considered real citizens of the village; they have no history there and are thought to be likely to move to another village. This criterion of history is not dependent on the length of an individual's residence in the village, but rather on his relationship to a headman who does have ancestors historically associated with the locale.

613 The two largest and politically strongest matakali in Puke both have long histories of association with the village. For both cases ancestors of the current headmen can be traced back several generations.

[764] Each of these matakali has its own graveyard and a third graveyard serves for all other members of the community.

[771] The corporateness of the Tongan matakali would have to be described as weak when compared to other Polynesian residence groups such as the puikaainga described for the Ellice (Brady 1970: 65-74). Corporateness of the matakali is built on (1) recognition of the group by both members and non-members, (2) periodic functioning as a unit or resource management and collection, and (3) recognition of the headman as a leader, organizer, and advisor by the group's constituents.

So the matakali can be described as a weak corporate group in

597 Exposition of one case will illustrate some of the complications
and alterations that result from adoption. Lutu was adopted at the age
of seven months by Va and Tevita; Va was Lutu's FMS but after the adop-
tion Lutu called Va fa'e 'mother' and Tevita tamai 'father'. Va had
one child of her own, a daughter, but the girl married young and left
home so Va wanted another child. When Lutu was nine years old, Va be-
597 came very ill and Lutu was sent back to live with his natural parents.
763
593 Va's illness continued for about a year and then she died; at that time
Lutu ran away and returned to live with Tevita, his adopted father.

593 During the next few years Lutu's mother came several times to take him
597 to her home but each time he ran away and waited until she had left to
598 return. During this period there were a lot of hard feeling between
Tevita and Lutu's biological parents. The last time Lutu's mother came
to take him back he was seventeen and he told her he was old enough to
decide for himself and he wanted to stay with Tevita.

597 When Lutu's biological mother died he did not go to her funeral,
764 but when his biological father died both he and his adopted father at-
593 tended the funeral. Lutu inherited nothing from his biological parents;
[428] all of their possessions went to a younger son. When Tevita died Lutu
inherited all his possessions.

597 The case is also an example of how adoption creates alternatives
602 for the adoptee. Both Lutu's biological parents and adopting parents
resided in the same village, but the biological parents had few kinsmen
within the village while the adopting father had several kinsmen. By
stressing his relationship with his adopting father, Lutu closely

437
438
177
628
[537]

two groups of goods are stacked on the ground. Speeches are appropriate before the exchange with each group praising the offerings of the other.

Below I have listed the items exchanged on the occasion mentioned earlier.

Tongatapu Village Gave

300 sheets of 9-foot corrugated iron
21 full length tapas
24 bars of laundry soap
1 box of cabin biscuits
1 sewing machine
12 dinner plates
2 bed covers
piece goods
\$T26.00 in cash

Ha'apai Village Gave

11 40-foot fibu 'fine mats'
24 15-foot " "
38 12-foot " "
29 10-foot " "
67 single thickness mats
40 papa 'floor mats'
8 ta'ovala 'woven waistbands'
200 salt fish
2 goats

With the exception of the tapa given by the Tongatapu group, all of their goods were non-traditional items available through the market economy. All of the Ha'apai goods were indigenously produced, and the bulk of the goods were fine mats, a traditional item of wealth and prestige.

Redistribution651
554
431

First fruits (polopolo) are given to nobles and high ranking female relatives, both sisters and fathers' sisters. This is particularly appropriated at the time of the first harvest of a yam garden (pa'ala),

651
178
431

but also for other garden products, fish, and meat. In pre-contact Tonga a society-wide system of redistribution was based on the giving of first fruits, collected and dispensed at an annual religious ceremony

431
178
764
574

(Sahlins 1950: 24-25). In modern Tonga redistribution exists in the

431
178
764
[574]

[565]

context of feasting; the most obvious example is the Tongan funeral.

Mourners bring pigs, vegetables, and bread which are prepared by low ranking kinsmen of the deceased. Some of the food is consumed at the funeral, but most is divided into individual parcels and given to the

mourners as they leave. Nobles still possess the power to amass large amounts of food for feasting occasions by demanding it of their relatives and the commoners who live on their estates.

Parameters of Reciprocity

128
571

Sample B as described in Chapter I consists of 604 exchange events.

All of these exchange events can be considered as instances of reciprocity. Here reciprocity only means that the exchange event is based on the social relationship of the principals involved, rather than on an economic relationship. This sample of 604 exchanges will be used in Chapter VI to establish the behavioral pattern found in kinship reciprocity. Below I will describe certain other characteristics of the sample.

431

It is quite acceptable to solicit gifts and 'to ask for a gift or some other favor' is kole. In 26 percent of the 604 cases recorded the gift was solicited and in 74 percent of the cases the item was offered.

In 7 percent of the cases, the transactions were associated with some "special occasion" such as wedding, funeral, or some type of celebration feast. The great proportion of these transactions, then, were

[571]

made in the course of daily patterns of interaction rather than in the context of extraordinary events.

127
797
565
765

[776]
[775]
[787]

127
797
764
[565]
[763]

the vault in which they were afterwards to be deposited. When Bro Thomas waited on the Sick Chief he found him fully determined to choose his idols. He said it was very well for us and Tubou and the people to serve our God; but as for him he was fully satisfied to worship his own God and that he and his people therefore should continue to choose to their heathenish ceremonies. The god that this Chief principally worships died about 20 years since whose bones are now removed; and it is also as firmly believed that that he inspires the present chief that is, that he comes and communicates with him on all important occasions from the invisible world. And the people seem to adore the Chief almost as much as the god who inspires him. It is expected that this chief will soon die, and he intends to be buried in the new vault just now finished. The vault is indeed a marvelous work for a company of poor heathen savages to perform destitute as they are of Tools - It is composed of 5 large pieces of stone one to answer as a bottom and four for each side. These were fitted to each other in a way which was highly creditable to their genius and perseverance and left a space for the Bones about 6 feet long 4 feet Deep and 3½ feet wide. There was a stone also prepared to cover the Vault when the present chief dies. This stone is about 9 feet long 7 feet broad & 1 & ½ foot thick wrought into a square form with one smooth face which will of course be placed downwards [stress added] (Hobbs, Journal, July 27, 1833).

127

From this rather detailed description by Hobbs, the ethnohistorical researcher gradually pieces together the events which took place at the Pea. Once again, although proper names of the dying Tongan chief (Fae) and the deceased chief (Takai) are not mentioned, one assumes that if inspiration for the dying chief comes from a deceased relative, as ʻotua, then Fae and Takai might have been siblings.

The Journal of the third missionary mentioned by both Thomas and Hobbs, Charles, Tucker, was not available. Tucker, however, did make a letter-journal entry of the events of that day, presumably copied

[797]
[765]

from his own Journal. Tucker wrote:

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)

OU9 Tonga OU9

74

127
797
765

Yesterday I accompanied Messers. Thomas & Hobbs to the Bea (a place where heathenism still abounds) to witness a ceremony of rather a novel and interesting nature, viz. the removing of the bones of a great chief whose demise took place about twenty years ago. He was buried originally in a small canoe which was deposited in sand, and had a shed erected over it. Now they have prepared a stone vault in which to inter him; we witnessed only a part of the ceremony. It did not terminate until today. On these occasions they inflict very severe punishment on themselves as a proof of their love for the person who may have died. They burn themselves on the cheek bone and other parts of their bodies and then they keep striking with their fist that part of their face which has been burnt, some cut their heads & faces with sharp stones and shells, while they assure those who are dead that they are almost dying for love to them. If the deceased had been warriors or had distinguished themselves in any way during their life, their most noted action would be recited at their funerals [stress added] (Tucker, Letter-Journal, entry of July 24, 1833).

[304]

Tucker clearly states that he was a witness to part of the ceremony and that the entire ceremony was at a minimum, a two-day ceremony (or per-

127
765

haps a twenty-four hour ceremony--from noon to noon). He provides us with details on the behavior of individuals attending a funeral ceremony or a hikitanga, or re-burial ceremony. The ethnohistorical re-

127
764

searcher is still not certain of the relationship between the dying chief and the re-buried dead chief, but Tucker's description provides a confirmation or external consistency check on Thomas' journal description of the canoe in which the dead chief was originally buried and the "house" (Thomas) or "shed" (Tucker) erected over the old burying place where the canoe was located in the sand. The possible significance of this shed over a burial place is clarified by Turner, who was witness to a burial at Vava'u. Turner wrote ("should a chief die in his house that house would be sacred for 6 months - or would be removed

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)

OU9 Tonga OU9

75

127 over the grave" (Turner, Journal, February 18, 1833).

764 A final description of the hikitanga ceremony of July 23, 1833
comes from Thomas' post-1850 manuscript account. Thomas provides in-
127 formation which confirms descriptions from all previous accounts of
765 the hikitanga, as well as new details and information.

[304]

Fae of Bea is still very ill, but firmly attached to his heathenism, he has had a new stone vault got ready for his body in his fort, and this day disinterred the body of Takai his older brother formerly the warrior chief of this fort, and three other friends of the Lavaka tribe, and now the people of Bea are performing funeral ceremonies for them a second time, it being what is called the hikitangaa with the crying of the women, and beating their bosoms, and the frantic speeches of the men who cut themselves and break their heads until the blood gushes out and runs down over their bodies. This of course is in sorrow to the dead and especially to Takai the Tutelar God - and at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga.

[776]
[565]

The bones of the different chiefs were carefully laid in new clean matts - with black cloth and wealth and thus covered and laid out in a large house prepared for the occasion, where the chief mourners were all seated and where lights were about to be kept burning all that night in honour of the dead, and the mourning would be kept up. Large quantity of native property was presented, as is usual at the funeral of chiefs called tukufo - and the next day the chiefs would be laid in the new vault with all the usual ceremonies, of persons lately departed, but as our time did not admit of our remaining to witness that part, we first waited upon Fae and again urged upon him the importance of caring for his soul, but turning to God, but found him most firmly determined to die to the gods of Tonga, and although he was now near death yet he was firm to his gods. He was more earnest than usual, and almost angry to think that he should be talked to on such a subject. Our last words that he would most assuredly find out that Jehovah was the true God. We then left him [stress added] (Thomas MS. lb: 923-925).

127
797
763
[765]

127 This description by Thomas clearly points out that Fae and Takai
were brothers, confirming Woon. This sibling relationship is also
[776] confirmed by extant Tongan genealogies (Collocott n.d. 1: 49). Thomas'
statement that Takai was the titular god of Fae confirms what Hobbs
[764] wrote. The house mentioned by Thomas follows his own journal and con-
[765] firms Tucker's "shed." Thomas' description of the behavior of the
Individuals participating in the hikitanga ceremony also confirms
Tucker's general description of funerary activities.

127 Thomas provides us with new information on how the bones of
565 Takai were prepared for interment, how Fae was living in a fort, and
that Takai was "at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga."

127 Gifford (1929) wrote that the title hau was a "term applied to either
565 the Tui Haa Takalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu" (1929: 85). Since Gifford
643 never lists Takai as having held either the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua
or Tu'i Kanokupolu (1929: 82-87) and he never records Takai as being a
hau, then either Thomas' eyewitness-based description was incorrect or
Gifford was incorrect. Gifford could be in error on either of two
counts: either the title hau was not limited to only the individual
who held the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu, or, Takai
was at one point Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu and Gifford
failed to record this fact.

Gifford based his statements on the hau on the basis of his
interpretation of published accounts and memory culture of 20th Century
informants. Thomas, on the other hand, was an actual eyewitness at the
time of the hau and Gifford was not. In his journal of 1833 Thomas

Genus *Rhoeo* Hance

137 *Rhoeo discolor* (L'Héritier) Hance, in Walpers, Ann. Bot. Syst. 3: 660, 1852.

Low herb with short, thick, creeping, fleshy stems ascending up to 30 cm. Leaves numerous, narrowly lanceolate, entire, acuminate, dark green above, purple beneath, up to 30-40 cm. long and 4-6 cm. wide, fleshy, petiole about 1 cm. long, sheathing stem. Flowers small, white, about 1 cm. wide, several, in axillary, racemose clusters, surrounded by two large, purplish, boat-shaped bracts.

Tongatapu: on coral rocks near sea below Niutoua village, Mar. 2, 1953, Yuncker 15129.

[824]
[247]
[764] Found throughout Tonga. Often planted in cemeteries, from where it becomes established as an escape. A tropical American species now widely grown as an ornamental in warm climates.

Genus *Zebrina* Schnizlein

Zebrina pendula Schnizlein, Bot. Zeit. 7: 868, 1849.

Tender, decumbent herb with weak, semi-prostrate, creeping stems. Leaves alternate, ovate-lanceolate, acute, 3-6 cm. long, purple beneath, silvery green above with purple stripes, petiole tubular and sheathing stem. Flowers reddish or purplish, small, short-pedicellate, in few-flowered cymose clusters enclosed by sheathing bracts.

Tongatapu: along trail between Ha'akame village and sea, Mar. 12, 1953, Yuncker 15275.

A Mexican plant now of wide distribution as an ornamental; occasional to frequent as a weed in plantations and waste areas throughout Tonga.

FAMILY LILIACEAE

Genus *Dianella* Lamarck

Dianella ensifolia (Linnaeus) de Candolle, in Redouté, Liliacées, 1, pl. 1, 1802.

Rather coarse, short-stemmed, herbaceous plant. Leaves distichous, linear, swordlike, up to 50 cm. or more long and 2 cm. wide, gradually long-acuminate, finely parallel-nerved, narrowing to a clasping petiolar base. Flowers blue to white, small, in terminal panicles up to 60 cm. or more long.

Tongatapu: in sandy soil under trees and shrubs near beach, Sopa, west of Nuku'alofa, May 30, 1953, Yuncker 16212.

Eua: Lister.

Kao: in rocky soil in open forest on upper slope, alt. about 600 m., May 6, 1953, Yuncker 15893.

Nava'u: Crosby; along upper rim of limestone coastal cliff above Leimatua, May 20, 1953, Yuncker 16081.

137 'Eua: ravine of Lakatoha River near Ohonua, Nov. 10, 1951, Hürlimann 236; same location, Apr. 2, 1953, Yuncker 15613.

Lifuka: climbing in shrubbery of seaside thicket, north of Pangai village, Apr. 24, 1953, Yuncker 15704.

Occasional to frequent in thickets throughout Tonga. A south African plant now widely disseminated in warm countries.

Tongan name: *taupo'on*.

Genus *Smilax* Tournefort

Smilax vitiensis (Seemann) A. de Candolle, in DC. Monogr. Phanerog. 1: 204, 1878.

Rather slender, woody vine. Leaves alternate, round-ovate, abruptly short-pointed. Base rounded, cordate, palmately 5-7-nerved, up to 15 cm. long and 15 cm. wide, petiole up to 5 cm. or more long, with a pair of stipular tendrils. Flowers greenish, on slender pedicels up to 2 cm. long, in axillary, pedunculate umbels, peduncle up to 8 cm. or more long.

'Eua: climbing in trees, forest above Fuai plantation, near center of island, Mar. 21, 1953, Yuncker 15401; in forest on seaward terrace along trail descending to Lokupo, Mar. 27, 1953, Yuncker 15512.

Occasional on 'Eua. Also in Fiji.

Tongan name: *matafu'i*.

[247] The cultivated garden asparagus (*Asparagus officinalis* Linnaeus var. *al-*
[824] *tilis* Linnaeus), onions (*Allium cepa* Linnaeus), and leeks (*Allium porrum*
[247] Linnaeus) are occasionally cultivated as vegetables. *Eucharis grandiflora* Planchon and Linden is a favorite ornamental species.

FAMILY AMARYLLIDACEAE

Genus *Zephyranthes* Herbert

Zephyranthes candida Herbert, Curtis's Bot. Mag., pl. 2607, 1826.

Small, bulbous plant with flat, narrow, grasslike leaves up to 20-30 cm. long. Flowers funnel-shaped, white or slightly rose-tinged on outside, up to 4 or 5 cm. long, solitary on a hollow scape about as long as leaves.

Tongatapu: in roadside ditch near Nuku'alofa, Mar. 7, 1953, Yuncker 15218.

[247] An ornamental planted about dwellings and in cemeteries but escaping to
[764] roadsides and waste areas. A South American species now widely grown as
[824] an ornamental in warm countries.

Tongan name: *feu'u*.

137
247
764
824
Cultivated¹ as an ornamental in villages and cemeteries. A native south-eastern Asiatic species now widely distributed as an ornamental in warm countries.

FAMILY MUSACEAE

Genus *Musa* Linnaeus

Musa nana Loureiro, Fl. Cochinchinensis, 644, 1790.

I was unable to determine with certainty the presence of this dwarf Chinese banana, but it was claimed to grow in Tonga. If so, it is probable that some of the Tongan names listed under the following species refer to it.

Musa paradisiaca Linnaeus subspecies *normalis* O. Kuntze, Rev. Gen. Pl. 2: 692, 1891.

137
262
824
252
The fruit of this subspecies, commonly known as the plantain, is usually cooked before eating. The Tongan name for this subspecies is *hopa*. The following varieties are recognized by the Tongans.

Fetan kula: fruit is round.

Fetan ulu'ikuma.

Lchia: bunch bears three or four hands of very large fruits.

Maholi hina.

Maholi 'uli.

Misipeka: small bunches of red fruits.

Pikipiki hina: fruit is small, white, the flesh firm.

Puko: small bunches of fruit nearly as large as the *lchia* variety.

Putalinga kula: stem is large, red, the bunches large, the fruit the size of those of the *puko* variety.

Putalinga puku.

Tatran.

Tokoni vai: large bunches of hard-fleshed fruit.

Tu'utu'ukautala.

U'hotaha.

I'ai'ui hako: fruit is medium-sized, long, round, curved.

I'ai'ui puki.

Musa paradisiaca Linnaeus subspecies *sapientum* (Linnaeus) O. Kuntze, Rev. Gen. Pl. 2: 692, 1891.

252
The fruit of this subspecies, one of the bananas of commerce, is generally eaten raw. The following varieties are recognized by the Tongans.

Mahimahi: stem is short to medium, the bunches and fruit small.

Mamae: leaves are purplish, the fruit white and short.

Pata lahelake: stem is medium tall, the fruit green with whitish bloom.

Pata tonga: stem is medium tall, the fruit green, somewhat ribbed, larger than variety *pata lahelake*.

Siaine fai: stem is tall, with large bunches of large fruits.

Siaine ha'amao: stem is medium tall, the fruits and bunches large.

Siaine initia: stem is tall and red, with large clusters of red fruits.

Siaine tonga: stem is short, with short clusters of short fruits.

1 / *Belamcanda chinensis* (Linnaeus) de Candolle -- Analyst/

137 Tongatapu: in crevices on perpendicular face of seaside cliff at Fangaveha, June 7, 1953, Yuncker 16250. Believed to be a new record for Tonga, where it is rare.

Known also from Hawaii, Niue, Pitcairn Island, Cook Islands, Tuamotus; rare in Fiji and Samoa.

Cleome spinosa L. is occasionally cultivated as an ornamental in villages and cemeteries.

247
764
824

FAMILY CRUCIFERAE

Genus *Lepidium* Linnaeus

Lepidium virginicum Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 645, 1753.

Erect, much-branched, glabrous or somewhat puberulent herb. Basal leaves up to 12 cm. long, dissected, terminal lobe large, obovate, lateral lobes small, stem leaves alternate, about 2.5 cm. long, oblanceolate, serrate, subsessile, acute. Flowers very small, white, in terminal and axillary, racemose clusters; fruit 3 mm. or less wide, flat, nearly round, notched at apex.

Tongatapu: weed in plantation, Nualei, Oct. 27, 1951, Hürlimann 5; roadside east of Nuku'alofa, Mar. 7, 1953, Yuncker 15206.

'Eua: weed at Fuai plantation, Mar. 22, 1953, Yuncker 15418.

Niutoputapu: near shore in Hihifo, Dec. 29, 1951, Hürlimann 645.

A common dooryard and waste area weed throughout Tonga. An American species now of wide distribution in warm climates.

Genus *Coronopus* Gaertner

Coronopus didymus (Linnaeus) J. E. Smith, Fl. Brit. 2: 691, 1800.

Low, spreading, pubescent, fetid weed. Leaves one- to two-pinnately dissected, the divisions narrowly linear, entire or toothed. Flowers very small, white, in small, axillary, racemose clusters; fruit flattened, deeply notched at apex, wrinkled.

Tongatapu: weed in plantation, Nualei, Nov. 1, 1951, Hürlimann 102; weed on sand in cemetery near Haveluliku village, June 3, 1953, Yuncker 16233.

'Eua: weed in old coconut plantation near Ha'aluma, Apr. 1, 1953, Yuncker 15586.

A plantation and waste-area weed throughout Tonga. This European weed is now of wide distribution in tropical and temperate regions.

Senebiera didyma Pers. in Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: *lesivao*.

Genus *Nasturtium* R. Brown

Nasturtium samentosum (Solander) O. E. Schulz, Bot. Jahrb. 32: 595, 1902.

Yuncker—Plants of Tonga

235

Nomuka: margin of thicket along road encircling island between sea and inland lake, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15816*.

137

Lifuka: roadside ditch between Pangai village and southern end of island, Apr. 28, 1953, *Yuncker 15780*.

Vava'u: along road between Mataika and Feletoa, northwest of Neiafu, May 20, 1953, *Yuncker 16053*.

Occasional as a plantation and waste-area weed throughout Tonga. A tropical American plant now widespread in warm countries.

Tongan name: *te'ekosi totolo*.

Salvia coccinea Jussieu, Murray, Soc. Reg. Sci. Gott. Comm. 1: 86, 1778.

Freely branching, hairy herb, up to about 60 cm. tall. Leaves ovate, acute or obtuse, base truncate or subcordate, up to 5 cm. or more long, crenate-serrate, petioles rather slender. Flowers bright red or pink, corolla puberulent, about twice as long as calyx.

Vava'u: *Crosby*.

A tropical American species rather widespread as a weed in waste areas.

S. pseudo-coccinea Jacq. in Burkill's list.

Tongan name: *te'ekosi*.

Genus *Coleus* Loureiro

Coleus amboinicus Loureiro, Fl. Cochinchinensis, 372, 1790.

Low, densely pubescent, aromatic herb. Leaves opposite, ovate, acute or obtusish, base cuneate, up to 12 cm. or more long and 9 cm. wide, coarsely toothed, finely pubescent on both sides, petiole up to 5 cm. or more long. Flowers pale lavender, on short, slender pedicels, in whorls in a terminal, interrupted, racemose cluster.

Tongatapu: garden, Nuku'alofa, 1926, *Setchell and Parks 15414*; in border of plantation near Nualei village, Mar. 9, 1953, *Yuncker 15232*.

Nomuka: sandy soil near sea below village, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15861*.

Lifuka: roadside north of Pangai village, May 10, 1953, *Yuncker 15797*.

Frequent as a waste-area and roadside weed throughout Tonga. From India and Malaya to Polynesia.

Tongan names: *pasiole, kaloni*.

The plants are extremely aromatic. The leaves are added to the water for washing clothes to perfume them and are used for scenting oil.

Coleus blumei Benthham, Labiat. Gen. and Sp., 56, 1832.

Erect, tender, square-stemmed, brown-pubescent herb, up to about 1 m. tall. Leaves opposite, ovate, crenate, up to 15 cm. long, acute, often dark red above, red and green beneath, petioles long and slender. Flowers light blue, subsessile, in whorls on an elongated terminal spike.

Frequent as an ornamental about dwellings, in cemeteries, and so forth. Occasional specimens were noted as escapes along roadsides. An East Indian species now of worldwide cultivation.

[824]
[296]
[303]

[824]
[245]
[351]
[764]

8 Bernice P. Bishop Museum—Occasional Papers IX, 9

857 were throwing a stone. The end of the *fau* bark held in the hand is
524 released and the arrow shoots off to a great distance.

A bow and arrow game, *gahan*, is played with a very slender, supple *kaho* stick. The bow is made from a stout orange stick.

For the boys' game of *'maka ta*, an implement very much like the modern slingshot is used. The bark of *tapa* or *fau* is used for the sling and a small pebble for ammunition. The sling is swung around the head full force, and the pebble thereby released and shot out into the air.

535 A Tongan dance (*lakalaka*) may be performed by any number of people of both sexes. The leader (*bunake*), composes the dance, teaches it, and leads the dancers. He chooses leaders (*vahegas*) for
[565] both the men's and women's parts, who must be of chiefly rank, as no one considers the *lakalaka* worth watching unless the *vahega* belongs to the family of a chief. The words and music (*hiva usu*) for the *lakalaka* have been handed down from early times.

The *fuhainla* is a dance participated in by women only. The dancing is done to the sound of drums, with groups of girls sitting around singing and clapping hands to keep time for the dancers.

857 A game for small children (*aamoa*) is played by ten or more
524 little girls and an old woman. The old woman covers herself with a piece of *gatu* or *tapa* cloth and tries to frighten the children, who run to escape her.

The game *fisi* is for both sexes. A rolled mat (*tapakau*) is placed on end with a stick on either side to support it; the children have small dried pieces of dried *fau* wood which they try to send over the top of the mat with one sharp clip of the finger.

CLOTHING OF WOMEN

291 The material used in most of the clothing worn by Tongan women
287 in the early days was made from *feta'aki* (white *tapa* cloth before
[194] it had been dyed or printed). The leaves of certain trees were also
[283] used, coconut fiber serving as thread for sewing them together.

292 Funeral garments were made from leaves blackened by several
764 days' exposure to the sun. These leaves were sewed together with
[192] a needle made from the small rib of the coconut leaf, the bark of the
[283] *fau* tree serving as thread.

287 A more modern method of dyeing the *tapa* cloth for funerals
386 is as follows: The natives gather a great pile of candle nuts (*tutui*),

173 from the village of Bea. When they reached Bea they found that the
425 report was only too true: Muliki Haamea was indeed dead.

Togalava and his friend then went in search of the murdered chief's body and they found it on the rock, Nukualofa. The murderers, before returning to Hihifo, had arrayed the body in its coronation robes, namely; the beautiful fine mats that the young chief was taking with him and that were to be worn by him when he was to be declared Tui Haamea, and to have his first kava under his new title.

On finding the body Togalava first bathed in the sea, and then sprang on to the rock and took all the mats off the dead body, and handed them to the other young man to carry. Togalava then put the body of the dead chief over his shoulders and carried it back to the village of Haateiho, a distance of about twenty miles, from the rock where they found it. When they got to Haateiho they built a bier on which the dead chief was placed and then brought to the village of Tatakamotoga, Mua, by five strong bearers—a farther distance of eight miles. When they arrived at Tatakamotoga a *tolia*

173 (house in which native chiefs are laid out to await the grave or vault
425 being prepared) was built. This *tolia* was built just under the big
764 *kau* tree on the government reserve at Tatakamotoga. The body was lying in state there while the *lagi*, known as Loamanu, was being built. It took six months to build this *lagi*. When all was ready, the funeral took place.

173 After the funeral had taken place the chiefs Macaliuaki and Fatea
755 with Tugi's chiefs [this would be Tugi I, as Tugi II is at present Prince Consort and Premier of Tonga] came to the man Togalava and said to him, "What is the value of the work which you have done for us," and Togalava replied, "Do not trouble," and they replied, "Here is the property of the late Muliki Haamea known as Toutai, and Tatai, also Toutai II. These are yours and to be your successors' properties for ever."

PLANTS USED IN THE TREATMENT OF DISEASE

824 Akataha, Tava, Fekika vao. For fever, stiffness of the jaws, or fixed eyes
278 in children. The trunks of the three trees are scraped and their juices mixed.

757 Akau vell. For bee sting. The plant is rubbed over the affected part.

192 Bata, Kanume. For *avaga*. The trunks of the two trees are scraped to obtain the juice, which is used as a drink.

Bolo. For *sefulai* or *kulokula ohu afi*. The leaves are chewed and the juice is painted over the affected parts.

CONFRONTATION AND FRUSTRATION 31

revered gods) had been 'tired with the tardy movements of his faithful worshippers, the Tonguese heathens, in reference to making war upon the Christians [had] at length taken the matter into his own hands and his weapons of war [were] to be drought and storms . . . ' (Watkin, Journal, 21 Dec. 1826).

However, it is quite evident that the opposition raised by the priests was not in any way comparable with that offered by the chiefs. The honour and privileges that the priests had enjoyed in the old order were nothing compared with those which the chiefs, for instance, had enjoyed. But the fact that they threw their weight behind the opposition of the chiefs was quite significant.

It was the chiefs who had most to lose from the encroaching influence of the missionaries. Here lay the basis for their antagonism, and, because they had traditionally held all power in their hands, their opposition was formidable and was clearly understood by the missionaries.

The missionaries' teaching that all men were equal in the sight of God, their belief that everyone was a sinner by nature and that in order to get to heaven everyone, irrespective of rank, had to submit to certain moral discipline, and their preaching that no one, chief or otherwise, had any right to appropriate to himself any property belonging to another, were particularly unpopular with the chiefs, since these doctrines tended to undermine their status, privileges and authority. Since almost every heathen custom, which the missionaries regarded as contrary to Christianity and civilisation and were determined to eradicate, played some part in upholding the dignity and privileges of the chiefs, it was inevitable that the majority of the chiefs should clash with the missionaries over the maintenance of these traditional customs.

The missionaries, for one reason or another, appeared to have lacked the ability to differentiate between those customs which were incompatible with Christian principles and those which were contrary only to their own British middle-class moral standards. For this reason they failed to appreciate the psychological and social significance of some of the old customs and traditions to the Tongans themselves. An example may be seen in the perpetual conflict between the missionaries and the chiefs over the question of *tukuofa*. This custom was performed at the funeral of any

32 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

764 member of a chiefly family. On such an occasion the people under
565 the rule of the chief concerned, his friends and relatives in particular, would bring gifts of *ngatu* (tapa cloth), mats of various
431 kinds, and articles of food and drink to him.

From the commoners' point of view, this was an expression of their love and respect for the deceased, sympathy for the bereaved, and also a manifestation of their regard and loyalty to their leader. For the relatives it provided an opportunity for an extended family gathering, where they learned to know each other personally, and also their various responsibilities to each other. The warmth of filial devotion and the strength of family ties were further kindled and strengthened on such occasions. The bereaved chiefs themselves were comforted. They also appreciated the fact that the commoners' (or rather their subjects') sorrow and devotion were being expressed in a practical way.

The chiefs were often reminded on such occasions of their responsibilities to their people and this helped to maintain good relationships between them and their people, all of which furthered the maintenance of stability and order in the community. The missionaries did not seem to understand, let alone to appreciate, these implications. The fact that some of the *ngatu* and mats were used to wrap up the deceased for burial, and that the food presented was prepared to feed the people present, caused the missionaries to view the *tukufofo*, rather mistakenly, as an offering to the dead.

Tukufofo was also regarded as a means used by the chiefs to accumulate wealth at the expense of the commoners. 'I wish to see the *tukufofo*—quite put down—' wrote John Thomas, 'but this is the craft by which many Tonga chiefs have their wealth. They would be glad to keep it up' (Thomas, Journal, 24 Dec. 1826). It may be pointed out that the chiefs did not demand the *tukufofo*. It came from the people quite spontaneously and freely and from a sense of responsibility.

797 Another point of conflict between the chiefs and the missionaries
565 was the chiefs' jealousy towards the rival for their authority. The priests of the old order exercised power over the people
571 only during their brief periods of inspiration. For the most part
[792] they were, like the rest of the population, under the power of the
[787]

170 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

ment which would be recognised and whose laws would be respected by the civilised nations of the world, if the independence of Tonga was to be assured.

It is clear that at the time of the preparation of the 1862 Code, relations between the missionaries of the 'Thomas School' and the King were so strained that they were all, collectively and individually, out of favour with the King. They were therefore not in any position to be asked by the King and the chiefs to offer advice on the drawing up of the Code.

When John Thomas left in 1859 the Reverend Thomas Adams became the chairman of the mission. Adams was a very able man and was on very good terms with King George. Unfortunately Adams's wife died in 1860 and he had to return to England. The Reverend W. J. Davis, who had served in Tonga from 1848 to 1856, was sent back to Tonga from Australia and was to be the chairman of the mission from 1861 to 1866.

Within a year of the start of his chairmanship, Davis became involved in a head-on clash with the King and his chiefs over the funeral of King George's son, Vuna, who died on 2 January 1862. The chiefs and relatives of the King had decided to revive the old custom of *tukuoso* (presentation of gifts at funerals), which was still prohibited by the Society, but had been made legal by the state the previous year. Davis, standing firm by the rules of the Society, decided to dismiss all the chiefs and people who were involved in this matter from membership of the Society. The King took it as a personal insult and decided to resign all his positions in the church, and the Queen did likewise (Stephinson, Journal, 5 Mar. 1862).

The members of the Methodist Overseas Mission Committee in Sydney were obviously disturbed by this dramatic development, for they knew only too well how much their work in Tonga depended on King George and his support. The chairman, however, defending his stand in the dispute, wrote to the Committee declaring, 'We must be prepared to do battle with the enemy in high places' (Davis to Eggleston, 18 Mar. 1862, WMMSA 1852-79). To which Eggleston, the secretary of the Committee, replied:

If this means 'do battle with those who speak evil of dignities and bring the discipline of the church to bear upon slanderers and back-

and mobs of untended horses roam through the island. It contains varied scenery, valleys, and precipitous cliffs lining the eastern coast. [136]

TOGATABU. This name (Sacred Tonga), as well as the others used by the people (Great Tonga and Chiefly Tonga), attests the importance of the largest island in the minds of generations of Tongans. From the foundation of Tonga to the present it has been the residence of the kings and the centre of religious and social life, and modern investigation has confirmed the native tradition that Togatabu was settled before Ha'abai and Vava'u. The island is 99 square miles in extent, with its extreme length 18½ miles and greatest breadth 9 miles. The southern coast is rather higher than the northern, where the capital, Nuku'alofa, is situated opposite the only openings in the reef which surrounds the island; but Togatabu generally is low, except in the east where the land rises to 270 feet. There are three main roads traversing the island from west to east and several cross-roads. The present population is 12,357, of whom 11,660 are pure Tongans. [136]

Nuku'alofa is the capital, the residence of the sovereign, and the centre of government and trade for the whole group. The Palace and Royal Chapel are conspicuous buildings; and the royal dais in the chapel is finely carved. The tombs of the present line of kings are at Mala'e-kula, in the centre of the town. Behind the British Consulate is a hill (Zion), the site of the old fort described by Mariner. [136]

Mu'a, which consists of two villages, Tatakamotoga and Labaha, was the ancient capital; the kings of the Tu'i Toga line after Tu'itatui resided at Labaha, as also did the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and the southern village of Tatakamotoga belonged to the Tu'i Kanokubolu. In Mu'a there was also a renowned enclosure, Fanakava, which was a sanctuary for refugees from justice. The most remarkable feature of the Mu'a district is the series of 28 tombs (lagi) of the ancient kings. Each of these is a rectangular structure, covering as much as three-fourths of an acre, with from three to five terraces in pyramidal form, built of blocks of stone the largest of which weigh 30 tons each. Many of these tombs are well-preserved and easily accessible, especially the Baebae of Tele'a, whose smooth surfaces and L-shaped corner-stones have won the admiration of experts. Such striking examples of the skill of ancient Tongan stone-masons afford one of the finest sights in the South Seas. [136]

At the extreme east of the island, at Heketa near Niutoua, there is situated the famous trilithon known as the Ha'amoga-'a-Maui. This was built by the Tu'i Toga, Tu'itatui, about the year 1200, probably as a gateway. The upright stones are 17 feet high, and the cross-piece is 19 feet in length. Nearby are the stone where Tu'itatui sat, the Maka Fakinaga, and two tombs from the same period. [136]

The remains of "Captain Cook's tree," called Malumalu 'o Fulilagi by the people, may be seen at Alaki. It was here that Cook was entertained in 1777 when he visited the Tu'i Toga and saw the presentation of first-fruits. [136]

Stalactite caves near Haveluliku on the southern coast, like those found in other parts of Tonga, seem to have been used for burials in ancient times. [136]

Ha'ateiho is the place where three London Missionary Society missionaries were killed in 1799. At Bea may be seen the spot where Captain Croker was killed and three naval guns were captured in 1840. 648
[797]

There is a good example of an old fort in fair preservation at Hule, near Nukunuku. The most remarkable of the numerous trenches of the island is known as the Keli'-a-Belchake, which extends from Vaotu'u to Nukunuku, Te'ekiu, Masilamea, and back to the southern coast at Fahefa; tradition states that this was actually dug in a single night during a war between the men of Hahake and those of Hihifo led by Vaha'i, at some undetermined time probably in the early 19th century. The name of a hamlet, 'Umutagata, also in the western district, recalls a rare instance of human cremation and cannibalism. 712
[173]
103
266
764

At Kolovai there is the enclosure where the former Tu'i Kanokubolu were invested with office; a piece of the koka tree under which these kings sat has been placed in the modern coronation chair at Nuku'alofa. The tombs of these kings are also at Kolovai. This village is well-known to tourists as a sanctuary for great numbers of flying-foxes. 643
[764]
136

Houma, on the south-west coast, is noted for the blow-holes which extend along the cliffs for a considerable distance. 133

In the extreme north-west of the island, at Ha'atafu, a monument stands to mark the landing-place of the first Wesleyan missionaries (1826). Tasman in 1643 and Cook in 1773 also landed nearby. 648
[211]

Navigation lights now stand at Ha'atafu, Nuku'alofa and Malinoa, an island north of Nuku'alofa. The quarantine station is situated at Makaha'a, another island off Nuku'alofa. 502
504

Ancient stone-quarries are to be seen at Motutabu and Bagaimotu, small islands not far from Nuku'alofa. It seems more than probable that the stones used in the great tombs (lagi) at Mu'a and elsewhere were cut at these places, and certainly not at Uvea and other distant islands to which old native traditions refer. 316
174

HA'ABAI. It is considered that this name is derived from Savai'i, the island in Samoa from which the ancient Tongans probably came. Ha'abai is a scattered archipelago of small islands, the total area of which is less than that of 'Eua, if the uninhabited volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao are excluded. Yet these islets support a population of 6,410, most of whom have small tax-allotments or none at all, and despite the difficulties of getting a livelihood—difficulties which hurricanes and droughts have increased in recent years—the number of people who have gone to take up land in Togatabu and Vava'u is not considerable. The people of Ha'abai have always been renowned as skilful navigators and fishermen. 103
133
131
162
311
505
226

The Governor of Ha'abai resides at Bagai, Lifuka, which was also the boyhood home and always the favourite residence of Tubou I. Cook was entertained at a great festival and a plot was made against his life on this island in 1777. Mariner's vessel, the "Port-au-Prince," was also attacked here, and the cemetery of the murdered sailors is at Koulo, Lifuka. 634
175
648

Uoleva, now uninhabited, has a remarkable number of pigeon-mounds used by chiefs in ancient times, also an old sunken road of unknown use extending through the island. 172

'Uiha is the burial-place of great chiefs, including Tubouniua, Tubouto'a, Tevita 'Uga and Vuna. The finest mound ('eji) in Tonga, named Maka Hokovalu, is situated on the north-west of this island. The village of 'Uiha also boasts six cannon taken from a kidnapping ship which met its merited doom while making a raid on the island about the middle of the 19th century.

Tugua was the residence of the highest personage in ancient Tongan society, the Tamaha.

Nomuka, in the south of the group, was visited by more voyagers than any other island in Tonga. The pond of fresh water from which Tasman, Cook, Bligh and others took supplies is readily pointed out.

Navigation lights have been placed at Muifuiva, in the south, and at Muiotoa, Ha'ano, in the north of Ha'abai. Some islands cannot be approached in bad weather. Many of the smallest ones are uninhabited, though there are various traces of former habitation or of use for plantations or burial-places at Ofolaga, Kelelesia and the 'Otu Tolu.

VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO. Three-fifths of this beautiful northern group is in one island, 'Uta Vava'u, but the remaining islands are only separated from the mainland by narrow channels. All these islands are comparatively high and undulating, thickly-wooded and very fertile. The highest point is 670 feet. From the hill called Talau, behind the chief town, Neiafu, a magnificent panorama can be obtained, embracing all the islands in the group. Along the northern coast of the main island there are very fine views from the high cliffs at the seat ('eji) of Salote near Hologa and at Ha'alaufuli.

The harbour of the main island is one of the most picturesque in the Pacific, though shallows and sandbanks make navigation difficult in some places. The Swallows' Cave, often visited by tourists, is on the north of Kaba. The secret cave, entered only by diving, which Mariner's story and Byron's poem have made famous, is situated on the north of the island of Nuababu; here the young chief left his bride until they could embark for Fiji and be safe from the wrath of their relatives.

Neiafu, the port and residence of the governor, is beautifully situated, and good roads radiate from this centre. Until recently at least the average prosperity of the natives in Vava'u was rather higher than in other parts of the group, and they have expended their resources on European houses and European food to a greater extent than elsewhere. Vava'u is not as subject to hurricanes as the more northerly islands of Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu, but nevertheless it has suffered rather frequently, the last occasion being 13th March, 1932.

It is remarkable that Vava'u was the last part of Tonga to be discovered, the honour falling to the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781.

Various places recall the incidents mentioned in Mariner's history, and especially Feletoa, where the great fight of Finau Ulukalala II took place and where Finau himself was buried in 1809. Parts of the great trench, and also a cave and underground river, may be seen at Feletoa.

An ancient but incredible tradition states that a long wall of coral stones at Makave, known as the Kilikilitefua, was made by casting a stone for every first-born son in the district.

349
172

for every first-born son in the district. This wall stretches across an isthmus for 250 feet, with a thickness of 6 feet at the base and greatest height of 5 feet.

764

The great tomb (lagi) of Talafaiva, the beautiful wife of the illustrious Tu'i Toga, Tele'a, is on the island of 'Euakafa, in the south of Vava'u.

CAPES, BAYS, STRAITS AND REEFS.

133

[175]
[648]

The chief capes in Togatabu are Niu Aunofu or Van Diemen Pt. in the north-west, Houma Toloa or Cook Pt. in the south, and Mui Hobohoga or East Cape. In Lifuka, Ha'abai, the capes are Hulu'ibaogo in the south-west (where Cook saw a mound named Ta'agakiki, now the site of a cemetery) and Muikuku in the north-west where Cook anchored and also where the "Port-au-Prince" was attacked. The chief capes of 'Uta Vava'u are Muioulo, Fata, Muioulo, Muikilikili, Nukumalolo, Vaifakalava, Tubouniua, Mata'utuliki, Matakiniua and Houma Fakalele.

133

103

The anchorage on the western shore of 'Eua was named English Roads by Cook. Maria Bay in the north-west of Togatabu was named by Tasman after Maria Van Diemen. In the lagoon of Togatabu, Faga Kakau and Faga 'Uta are sometimes marked as Bay of Bea and Bay of Mu'a. Port Maurelle in Kaba, Vava'u, commemorates the name of the Spanish discoverer. Boatalefusi is the local name of the far-famed harbour of Vava'u. Other bays in Vava'u are Port Refuge, Vaiutukakau, Liku'one and 'Onetale.

The chief straits or passages in Togatabu are Biha or Eastern Passage, Ava Lahi and Egeria Channel. Of the numerous straits marked on Ha'abai charts the most important are Ava Auhagamea, Ava Vaha'afonua and Ava Matanukubule. The chief channels in Vava'u are Ava Bulebulekai and Faihava.

[164]
[228]

Pelorus Reef, south of 'Ata, was discovered by H.M.S. "Pelorus" in 1861; it marks the southernmost extremity of Tongan waters. North-west of Togatabu are Hakau Tabu, where only the fishermen of the Tu'i Kanokubolu were allowed to fish, and Hakau Mama'o. West of Nomuka is Hakau Fiji, where a large steamer was wrecked in 1924. Hakau Muikuku, Hakau Faka'ojitoume and Luahoko are the most well-known of the innumerable reefs of Ha'abai.

MOUNTAINS.

133

[173]

The list of islands in Appendix E shows their heights. A Few hills are high enough to deserve names. The most important of these in Vava'u are Mo'ugalafa (610 feet), Talau (430 feet) and Kaloa (430 feet), and in Kaba the hill Teisina (310 feet). Two small hills in Togatabu have names: Bobua or Holohiufi or Cook's Hill (108 feet), near Ma'ofaga, said to have been cast down from the sky by Tagaloa 'Eitumatubu'a to provide good soil for the garden of his son, 'Aho'eitu; and Veigo or Fugajia or Zion (60 feet), the site of the old fort and latterly of a church overlooking Nuku'alofa.

A [See Category 133, pp. 95-107—Analyst.]

137
311
137
311
764
242
The two major concentrations are found just west of the airport at Fua'amotu on the property leased by Tupou College and on the Royal Estate at Kauvai bordering the central lagoon. There are numerous other smaller stands throughout the island, some too small to be mapped. The presence of these isolated stands can in some cases be attributed to the traditional practice of preserving small groves for family burial grounds or to the belief, held by many Tongan farmers, that if all of the native forest species and their shade are removed, the soil will cease to be fertile.

137
The remnants of this tropical lowland forest have a characteristically closed canopy composed of trees reaching heights of over 60 feet, a limited understory, and a number of epiphytes and lianas. The dominant tree species are Rhus taitensis, Alphitonia ziziphoides, Elaeocarpus tonganus, Ellattostachys falcata, Aleurites moluccana, Ervatamia orientalis, Dysoxylum forsteri, Syzygium clusiaefolium, Grewia crenata, Tarenna sambucina, Xylosma orbiculatum, Vavaea amicorum, Santalum yasi, and Ficus spp. Outer margins and more open areas are dominated by secondary species such as Hibiscus tiliaceus, Glochidion spp., Macaranga harveyana, Morinda citrifolia, and Bischofia javanica.

The understory in the dense inner forest, where present, consists of Micromelum minutum, Jasminum

[1797]

9

white men's ships. The Tongans did not show the least interest in Christian teaching and, under the circumstances, this was hardly surprising.

It is easy now to find grave errors in this venture. To teach the Tahitians and Tongans trades and to endeavour to set up a model society along English lines was idealistic but impracticable. The uneven quality of the members of the mission party was a serious handicap. They had been selected mainly for their knowledge of trades, and some of these trades were inapplicable to the islands (for example, bricklayer, butcher, draper, hatter). Some of the men were not sufficiently grounded in their faith and were liable to succumb to the temptations of a strange and enervating environment. Only six of the thirty missionaries on the *Duff* were married; twenty-two were under thirty years of age. Dr. Haweis had actually favoured using single men, with the hope, he said, that they might marry converts from the families of high chiefs in the interests of further conversions.⁽¹⁾ Of the thirty, twenty proved unfaithful or unequal to the work.⁽²⁾ Five of the original party in Tahiti remained faithful and were rewarded with eventual success. It was this minority who finally justified the Society's enterprise in Tahiti. The record of most of the L.M.S. survivors in Tongatapu indicates that they also were loyal to their commission.

The *Duff* reached Tahiti, after its long voyage, on 5 March 1797, a Sunday; and on that day the Gospel was first preached in the South Seas by Evangelicals. Those who had come to work in Tahiti had brought a rough vocabulary compiled by one of the crew of the *Pandora* which had called there six years before. On the other hand, there was nothing whatever prepared for the ten men who elected to go to Tongatapu; they had to depend for interpreters upon several castaway whites who generally were hostile. If civil war had not occurred the missionaries might have learnt the Tongan language in the same way as their nondescript interpreters had done. Without knowing the language, without any reliable authority to support them, living among a thieving population and a few whites who became treacherous opponents, and with their own indifferent intellectual equipment, the L.M.S. had insuperable obstacles from the outset.

Before leaving Tahiti the ten missionaries designated for Tongatapu chose Seth Kelso as their leader. On 19 March Kelso was ordained by the four ministers in the party who themselves had been ordained before leaving England.

On 10 April 1797 the *Duff* anchored off the small island of Pangaimotu, Tongatapu. Two days later the men landed and met chiefs including Mumui, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who expressed his desire to be taught how to make the kind of furniture he had seen on the ship. The missionaries decided to fix their residence in Hihifo, the western district, under the patronage of Tuku'aho, the son of Mumui. On 17 April the first sermon in Tonga was preached by John Buchanan; and the party observed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on 7 May.

Very soon after their arrival the missionaries witnessed the "paroxysms of grief" which marked the funeral of Mumui who died on 27 April. Two of the king's wives and a grandson had been strangled before his death. The funeral ceremonies were attended by about 4,000 people. Hundreds of men used clubs and spears to injure themselves. The missionaries were sickened by the daily scenes of self-inflicted blood-shedding.

Before the *Duff* left Tongatapu a runaway sailor more friendly than the others on the island informed Captain Wilson of a plot to capture the ship. Eight large double-canoes and hundreds of men surrounded the ship; they had to be

797
175
[177]

643
764
175
768
[304]

797
609
175

[1829]

The missionaries regarded these seven men as "the first fruits of the Gospel" in Tonga.⁽²⁵⁾ A short catechism had been compiled a few weeks before this event, and the catechumens repeated the answers before the congregation at their baptism. On 29 March 1829 Aleamotu'a's wife, Moala, was baptized and named Mary. Four other women were baptized with her. 797 795

When children of parents already baptized were brought, Turner set apart those below eight years and treated those above eight as adults who entered a class for instruction. It was Turner's practice to baptize candidates by sprinkling as they knelt around the communion table. He gave them biblical names as well as agreeing to their retaining their Tongan names. Incidentally, John Williams, while commenting very favourably on Turner's work during his visit to Nuku'alofa in 1830, criticized the giving of biblical names. However, it became standard practice in the Tongan Wesleyan Church. It was also the custom for baptized persons to sit under and around the pulpit, apart from the rest of the congregation.

Eleven more were baptized on 9 April 1829 when the congregation numbered nearly 500, Turner reported. By April 1829 Turner had completed the first Scripture lessons, catechism, and some hymns, and had sent these to Sydney to be printed. He had also translated the marriage service from the Prayer Book, and on 3 May the first Christian wedding service was held. On 24 May there was the first Christian burial, for an old convert named Job, so named because of his patience in prolonged illness. On Whitsunday, 7 June 1829, the first Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which Tongans participated was observed. There were twenty-six Tongan communicants. 794 797 885 767 788

The District Meeting, on 23 June 1829, reported 31 full members, with 90 on trial. It asked the Committee for two additional missionaries, one with medical knowledge, the other with printing experience; and a printing press was requested.⁽²⁶⁾ 794

By 25 June, William Cross had produced summaries of Old Testament and New Testament narratives, and had translated the Acts of the Apostles to chapter eleven — a remarkable feat in about eighteen months. Cross and Turner reported to the Committee that there were 495 in the schools and that 871 212

"many of the people can read with fluency and write in such a way as would astonish you."

They added two significant comments:

"The great and good work which the Lord is doing among us here is almost incredible to ourselves who are eye and ear witnesses to the facts. . . . And we enjoy perfect harmony among ourselves."

The "Lovefeast" was a treasured Wesleyan ordinance in which worshippers gave testimonies, and the first of these was held on 11 October 1829. About forty, including Aleamotu'a and his consort, spoke on this occasion.

At the District Meeting on 31 December 1829, it was decided that a man and woman living together should be married before they were baptized, and that candidates for baptism should meet "in class" for at least three months and, after baptism, spend three months "on trial" before full membership. The wise direction of the Chairman could be seen in these rules. It was also reported that there were 72 full members, with 23 others baptized but not yet full members, 123 others on trial, and that there were 478 scholars in four schools, at Nuku'alofa, Hoofoa, Havelu, and Fanga. 794 795 871

[1940-1944]

Chapter IX.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WESLEYAN MISSION AFTER 1840

The war had interfered sadly with the development of the work of the Mission — the increase of the people's knowledge, the strengthening of their faith, and the inculcation of principles of Christian behaviour. The missionaries had felt frustrated through the absence of fighting men from their homes in Ha'apai and Vava'u for long periods as well as the unsettlement in Tongatapu itself. 797

Little more than ten years had passed since the first converts made their profession, and most of them had had much less than ten years' acquaintance with Christianity. The missionaries knew that their tasks were only beginning. Public worship and teaching had to be supplemented by the "class meetings" for members. These meetings gave regular opportunities for supervising and testing the converts' moral and spiritual growth and for enabling the people themselves to express their new experience. The missionaries were convinced of the necessity for a system of strict discipline within the Church.

The complete evangelization of the main island of Tongatapu was a major objective after fighting ceased in 1840. Already there was cause for some satisfaction in the converts' loyalty in Tongatapu; opposition from non-Christian chiefs had produced greater fidelity and consistency there than in the pliant north. Breaking down the barrier of heathenism in Tongatapu proved a very different task to the evangelization of Ha'apai and Vava'u under the patronage of Taufa'ahau. Even with its best efforts the Wesleyan Mission did not make much headway before 1840 in the Hihifo district, nor did it meet with much success at Mu'a until 1850 nor until after the war of 1852 ended, at Houma and Pea.

The coming of peace enabled the missionaries to visit the non-Christian towns. John Thomas wrote on 13 April 1842: "As missionaries and friends of peace we are welcome in every part of Tongatapu".⁽¹⁾ Matthew Wilson, who reopened the station at Hihifo in 1841, often visited Houma and found the people friendly and ready to hear him. Fatai village had become a refuge for Christians from Houma.

In 1843 Fakafanua, the chief of Ma'ofanga, gave up his gods, one large whale's tooth and four small ones, called father and sons, wrapped up in mats. These gods had been kept at Pea and, when Fakafanua told his sons to bring them away, the Pea people said there would be a war if this happened because they feared that a drought or hurricane would follow the removal of the gods.⁽²⁾ [776]

On 28 August 1844, Matthew Wilson recorded the funeral of Vaea, the Houma chief; he gave details of the old heathen ceremonies, men cutting themselves with knives and piercing their flesh with spears, and some adults and children (as young as five years or age) having their fingers amputated.⁽³⁾ [764]

[1837-1851]

33

of the Gospel" (13 February 1850), and he wrote again, on 15 January 1851: 797
"Many young people have cast away the restraints of religion".⁽⁸⁷⁾ Modern 794
theologians would consider that these worthy men were insisting upon Old
Testament law rather than "the Gospel".

The missionaries held the rigid views of behaviour found among Evangelicals in the mid-19th Century. They believed that prohibitions were necessary to mark the conversion from pagan practices, and they were saddened by instances of reaction against their policy. The Tonga Circuit report 1853-4 lamented the fact that "many who manifest great anxiety to progress in civilization imagine it necessary to throw off the restraints of religion".⁽⁸⁸⁾

The Tongans' much-loved dancing was condemned by the early missionaries 797
because it often led to immorality, especially late at night; it was prohibited in 535
the Code of 1850. Actually, the words and actions of Tongan dances were more [833]
innocent than those used in other islands such as Rotuma where dances were definitely lascivious; in all cases, missionaries, who understood the languages better than most Europeans, knew the danger very well. To ban all dancing, however, and not just the night dances, was quite unjustifiable. Gradually the prohibition of these beautiful forms of recreation was relaxed. There has been no more popular, innocent, and indeed valuable cultural pastime in Tonga than the dances in which history, legends, occupations and even scenery are represented through singing and rhythmic movements.

Innocent sports, such as foot-races, canoe-races, and other diversions, were 797
banned because they had been used in pre-Christian days, and because they 526
occupied time that, the missionaries felt, should be given to productive employment. This insistence on a "work ethic" was characteristic of contemporary Protestant beliefs.

Smoking was prohibited for some years. Wilkes on his visit in 1840 noted 797
that it was very popular with the non-Christians but forbidden among the 276
converts whom Taufa'ahau had called upon to follow his example of abstinence. It was said to be undesirable and unhygienic when practised in crowded conditions. Rabone (29 September 1837) wrote that sometimes smoking led to a house being burnt down. It was also said that Tongans always swallowed the smoke, with harmful effects. More serious was the allegation that smoking gave opportunities for immoral conduct. W. G. R. Stephenson said that he had been told that, before their conversion, women smoking alongside men was a sign of their willingness to practise immorality.⁽⁸⁹⁾ W. J. Davis (18 March 1862) said that smoking [833]

is an introduction to the crying sin of Tonga, namely, fornication and adultery".⁽⁹⁰⁾
The missionaries' example was emphasized. As early as 12 September 1838, Rabone wrote about another missionary who smoked:

"Bro. ——— must either give it up or the people may be allowed".⁽⁹¹⁾

The brother in question was soon transferred to Fiji (but not, apparently, because of his smoking) and he proved a failure there, on other grounds.

Kava drinking, universally practised and rooted in Tongan custom, was never 797
prohibited. In this respect the missionaries in Tonga differed from some of their 273
counterparts in Fiji.

All customs associated with pre-Christian days, such as the presentation of 797
gifts at funerals, were banned, as these were regarded as offerings to the dead. 178
The missionaries were motivated always by the desire to make a complete external [64]

[1862]

The king had written to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, suggesting that the missionary collections should be free-will offerings and not, in any sense, exactions upon the people. Eggleston not only agreed with this but added that, if the collections were enforced by kingly authority, the priests might expect the same for their Church. In this letter (19 September 1862) Eggleston consoled with Tupou in the loss of his son, Vuna, but expressed a sentiment strange to our modern ears, 797
643
794

"Had he lived he might have been led astray and died without hope, and then you might have been for ever separated." (26)

The ceremonies at Vuna's funeral showed a change in the people's mood and a sharp resentment from the king and chiefs against the missionaries' strict supervision. When the burial took place at 'Uiha in January 1862, the old custom of presenting mats &c. (*tukuofa*) as to the dead was revived. It was said by some that the presentations were made to the king, by others that it was a mark of respect to the dead. The procedure was that mats and food were taken to the grave, with a prayer that the spirit of the dead would not return to curse the people.⁽²⁷⁾ It was because this was the original purpose of *tukuofa* that it had been banned. John Thomas in his Journal recorded the promise of the king in 1848 to prohibit *tukuofa* and his injunction upon the chiefs to observe this.⁽²⁸⁾ The legal prohibition, however, had been removed in 1861. 644
764
[775]

W. J. Davis, who was Chairman of the Mission in 1862, lacked the sensitivity and good judgment of his predecessor, Thomas Adams. When the funeral presentations were made, Davis expelled between 30 and 40 preachers from their positions for three months; these included some of the chiefs. "The king and queen were in a great state of exasperation because of this" and, later, "The king was still pained" ⁽²⁹⁾ — so much so that he resigned from all his positions in the Church. 643
797

Davis wrote to Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, about what had happened and stated that the decision to expel had been taken by a unanimous vote in the District Meeting.⁽³⁰⁾ Davis spoke of "doing battle in high places" against the chiefs and the Parliament. Eggleston, however, wrote an official letter of disapproval, and also a "private and confidential" reply which was firm and explicit indeed: 797

"Unless you greatly alter you will drive the king and queen and all who love them away from our Church. . . . You will create an impassable gulf between yourself and King George for all you say will most likely be repeated to His Majesty. . . . I believe slander is doing far more mischief in your group than drinking or smoking. I feel assured that, if your letters were read in Conference, they would seriously affect your position, and I am anxious that you should not act in a way that will compel the Conference to appoint some other brother to take charge of the district. . . .

"The king's unwillingness to treat with you on matters connected with the Church might arise not from indifference to the subjects but from the deep sense of injury inflicted upon him and his people by an undue severity in the exercise of discipline. You cannot rule him and others now like a parent of children; they will not submit to it." (31)

Those closing words might well have been underlined for the benefit of all missionaries in Tonga at that time and in following years.

The Conference in Sydney endorsed Eggleston's action. It also resolved to send Stephen Rabone, "as an old pastor and friend of the king" to visit Tonga, believing that "his counsels would be beneficial to all at this trying period in the history of the Mission".⁽³²⁾ Rabone was unable to make this visit.

[1879 - 1880]

needed medical attention. 'Unga died at Auckland on 18 December 1879. Baker sent the sad news to Tonga, with a message that the body would be taken back to Tonga. After the Conference ended Baker returned to Auckland and then sent a message to Sydney that he would visit Tonga to take 'Unga's body for burial. Other reasons he gave for going to Tonga were his desire to gather material for a book, either a history of Tonga or a biography of the king (he never attempted either), and to arrange for the departure of those members of his family who were not already living in Auckland. Furthermore, he undertook that, in visiting Tonga for a short time, he would not take a position in the Tonga Government — another promise which he deliberately dishonoured. 797
(644)

Meanwhile, many reports about Baker's intentions were being spread in Tonga. There was a widespread feeling that he would found a new and independent Church; he admitted to Sir Charles Mitchell at the inquiry in 1887 that it was at this stage that he formed a determination to do this. It was also expected that he would retire from the Wesleyan ministry and become at least the secretary, as well as medical adviser officially, to the king. The High Commissioner was greatly disturbed by the expected change in Baker's position. Baker had left for Auckland and the Sydney Conference before Gordon visited Nuku'alofa in December 1879. When he heard of the possibility of Baker returning he wrote to Chapman on 6 January 1880:

"If he is to leave Tonga permanently, I think his temporary return would be productive of nothing but harm. It would do mischief politically and would most seriously embarrass Mr. Watkin and Mr. Moulton also if the latter has then returned. If he were independent of your Church and were to return simply as a lay British subject, I should most certainly prohibit his doing so under Order in Council".(2)

Again he wrote to Chapman, 28 February 1880, expressing concern about the Conference allowing Baker to return to Tonga on his pledge not to interfere in Government affairs:

"I am reluctant to exercise my powers of prohibition. Had the Conference forbidden Mr. Baker's return to Tonga I would not have hesitated, so backed, to enforce the decision. . . . So long as Mr. Baker is in Tonga, so long will it, I fear, be impossible to extricate the Tonga Government from its present position of debt and danger." (3)

Later, Gordon was confirmed in his suspicions when Baker called on him in Suva and actually asked for his "support in his coming difficulties".(4)

Baker kept 'Unga's body in Auckland for nearly five months. Although several steamers left for Tonga in that period, he did this, waiting for a German warship which took the body on 30 May. When this warship, *Nautilus*, passed through Suva on 15 April the captain made it known that he was proceeding to Auckland for this purpose.(5) The funeral took place at 'Uiha, Ha'apai, on 10 June 1880. Forty marines from *Nautilus* provided the guard of honour and firing party. 797
644
764

When Parliament met in Nuku'alofa on 24 July 1880, the king's speech contained profuse thanks to Germany for bringing back 'Unga's body and for giving added impressiveness to the funeral. At the opening of Parliament, Blyth, the British Consul, felt slighted in being given an inferior place to the German naval officers; he also noted that the reference to Queen Victoria was purely formal while the name of the German Emperor was given prominence. Blyth informed the High Commissioner that: 646
645
648

"The address from the throne consisted for the most part of a panegyric on the Rev. Mr. Baker. . . . with the intimation that it was His Majesty's pleasure that one who 646
645
797

[1885]

Wesleyan Free Church is not in connection with your Conference and manages its own financial affairs." 795

The letter proceeded to mention, without comment, the expected visit of the "deputation from General Conference".⁽¹⁹⁾

The king's grandson, the Crown Prince, Wellington Ngu, died of a heart attack on 11 March 1885. Thus two generations of designated successors, in 'Unga and Ngu, had been removed by death in five years. The funeral took place at 'Uiha. No Wesleyans were allowed to participate in the funeral ceremonies or sit in the kava-ring. No greater affront than this could have been offered to any Tongan chief. One of those so debarred was a grandson of the king. At a public gathering at 'Uiha, later in the month, the king gave all who refused to join the Free Church until the end of May to conform "or seek another country — Fiji is the nearest", he said. The Wesleyans now knew what to expect. 644 764 276 577 643 795 748

During the protracted funeral ceremonies, on 25 March, Baker wrote to the President of the Conference (1885), J. A. Nolan, from 'Uiha: 795 797 643

"I am commanded by His Majesty King George, assembled with all the chiefs of Tonga for the purpose of doing honour to the remains of the Crown Prince. . . . to state that the line of conduct which Mr. Moulton is at present pursuing must ultimately lead to a breach of the peace between the chiefs and their people, and, that, if Mr. Moulton remains in Tonga, it is not possible to foresee what consequences it may lead to. His Majesty has therefore commanded me most respectfully to request you as President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference immediately to exercise your authority and remove Mr. Moulton, and that, if you do not do so, His Majesty must hold you responsible for the consequences whatever they may be." (30)

Moulton's offence, at that time, was his publishing circular letters to the Wesleyans not only urging them not to leave their Church but criticizing the formation of the new Church. 795 797

Just before the deputation from General Conference arrived Baker received a letter from the Rev. Dr. E. I. Watkin, of Victoria, brother of J. B. Watkin, and a critic of Moulton. Naturally, he was receiving information from his brother. In this letter of 3 April 1885, Dr. Watkin expressed to Baker the hope that the Free Church would return to the Wesleyan Church, but, to make this possible, Moulton and his young colleague, Crosby, should be removed, and the Church in Tonga should be attached to the Victoria and Tasmania Conference. Dr. Watkin expressed strong criticism of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference in January 1884 for its failure to condemn Moulton for uttering words "capable of being construed as an imprecation against the king".

When the deputation (Langham, Rabone, and Watsford) arrived on 1 May, it found (as it reported), that

"All Vava'u had turned to the new Church, nearly all Ha'apai, and more than half of Tongatapu. We found Mr. Baker supreme, in all but name the king of Tonga. We told him so, over and over again, and he could not deny it. . . . He is everything in the new Church. . . . No one can fail to see this. Persecution, fierce and cruel persecution, has been carried on against our people. . . . The king's command is made known by the ruling chief at village meetings, and sometimes by Mr. Baker himself, that they should all turn to the Free Church." (31)

Both the king and Baker, in interviews with the deputation, admitted the use of force and punishment against many individuals, but averred that these were "not because they are Wesleyans but because they are with Mr. Moulton, who is opposed to the Government". The deputation reported that Baker declared that Moulton was working to secure the annexation of Tonga by Britain, but, they 687 688

[1924-1942]

Trousers and black coats had been worn in imitation of Europeans, and old Free Church people particularly were addicted to this practice. While Fijian and Samoan preachers had their neat and comfortable native dress, their Tongan counterparts sweltered in their black suits. So conservative were members of Conference that permission was barely obtained, in 1932, for those College students who were local preachers to wear the *vala*. The same concession was obtained for theological students in 1934, and several years later the becoming native attire was adopted throughout the Free Wesleyan Church. x41
793

Gradually, other reforms were accepted. Illegitimate infants had not been baptized in church services, to mark the Church's strong disapproval of illicit sexual relationships; the reflection upon the infant was evidently thought to be immaterial. In a country where illegitimacy was over 17% of births, largely because the parties often preferred not to marry, and where no social stigma was attached to the child or its mother, it was incongruous that the Church should show discrimination in baptizing. Only a part of the service had been used in these cases, and this was done outside a church building. Even Dr. Moulton had felt that illegitimate children should be baptized quietly in his study or baptism left until a child was older. It was not until 1933 that Conference allowed baptism of an illegitimate child with the full service in the church, the mother accompanied by a male relative. The 1934 Conference allowed funeral bells to be rung, irrespective of the circumstances of birth or of death. 795
848
[162]
764
533
795

The 1934 Conference Minutes showed the care being exercised in the conduct of worship. Conference ruled that the elements in Communion were to be received kneeling (the old Wesleyan custom) and no one under fifteen years, normally, was to be a communicant. The Morning Prayer Liturgy, with chanting, in Dr. Moulton's translation, had been used only in the Wesleyan Church after 1885; the old Free Church people had looked askance at it even after its optional use had been authorized in 1924; they overlooked the fact that the early missionaries had used these forms in an older and weaker translation. Gradually the liturgical forms were adopted. 795
796
533
[516]

Music always played a prominent part in Tongan Church worship. Choir competitions, held in conjunction with the Annual Conference, were instituted in 1933. The Queen was one of the adjudicators on several occasions. Twice the finals, with a massed choir of over 1,000, were held in the Palace grounds before a vast assemblage. The 50th anniversary of the setting up of the Free Wesleyan Church was celebrated in 1935, when thirty-seven choirs took part in the competitions. 795
796
533

An exceptional incident occurred in 1934 when a relatively small number from the Free Church returned to the Free Wesleyan Church. A minister, John Malamala, with seventy people from the village of Kanokupolu, western Tongatapu, joined the Church. 795

Princess Fusipala, the Queen's step-sister, had been at school at Auckland for six years, and at Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, for three years. After serious ill-health in Tonga, she went to Sydney for medical treatment but died there on 21 April 1933. Her body was brought to Nuku'alofa for interment in the royal tombs. 644
[764]

During World War II, on 21 July 1942, the Queen and the nation experienced the grievous loss of the Prince Consort and Premier, Tungi Mailefihl, who died

[1902-1967]

239

in the advice she gave each year regarding the appointments of ministers. This, strictly speaking, was quite an irregular procedure but Page and his successors in the presidential office knew that every minister accepted unquestioningly what he understood had been decided upon her advice. She took a deep interest in the Women's World Day of Prayer. In the last year of her life (1965) she selected Scripture readings and wrote the prayers used by women throughout the world in February 1966. 643 795

The Queen was honoured by Britain on several occasions. She was the first D.B.E. in the Pacific (1932), Dame Grand Cross (G.B.E.) in 1945, G.C.V.O. in 1953, and, just before her death, G.C.M.G., the only woman in the world with this last-mentioned distinction. 643 648

In January 1965 she visited Auckland for medical treatment. An exploratory operation revealed the secondary growth of cancer. She returned to Tonga in May, and for the remaining months was under drugs and often in considerable pain. 643 164

When the ashes of her old friend, Rodger Page, were brought from Sydney, she was driven slowly around the cemetery. Especially as she was then in the last stages of her illness, this action impressed the great crowd at the cemetery as a signal mark of respect. She also directed that the word for "burial" on Page's stone should be *telio*, the word reserved for royalty, an unprecedented evidence of esteem. 643 793 795 [764] [577]

On 31 October, four days before returning to a hospital in Auckland, the Queen received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from her chaplain, the Rev. George Harris, and other ministers. She then gave a testimony, indicating her resignation to whatever might happen to her, adding that she had professed her faith in Christ when she was young and had adhered to it ever since, so that no hurried final spiritual preparations were needed. Treatment in Auckland proved of no avail. She passed away on 16 December. 643 763

The funeral took place on 23 December at Nuku'alofa before an assemblage estimated at 50,000. The king and queen with the royal family, the Governor-General of New Zealand, the Governor of Fiji, the Head of State in Western Samoa, and many other visiting leaders followed the bier on foot. In the still air the singing of the hymns the late Queen had chosen was deeply moving. Mourned with profound sincerity, she is still, years after her death, called by her people "Our Beloved Queen". 643 764

King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV was crowned on his 50th birthday, 4 July 1967, by his chaplain, George Harris, supported by Cecil Gribble, then President-General, who visited Tonga for the occasion. The king's brother, John Tu'ipelehake, succeeded the king as Premier. Both the king and his brother are local preachers in the Church and staunch supporters of all moral and religious movements in Tonga. 643 [644] [645] [793]

The ministers upon whom the integrity and development of the Church depend have included some of conspicuous devotion. Such a stalwart was Paul Fukofuka, one of those who refused many times to forsake the Wesleyan ministry for a higher stipend in the Free Church; he died in 1918, a veteran who had been born in pre-Christian days and who remembered John Thomas. Another, of similar fidelity and ability, was John Taufa, an inspiring preacher, who died in 1941. John Havea was senior tutor at Tupou College, 1902-9 and 1912-42. He 793 795

175

304

782

292

764

765

285

531

127

293

714

301

535

534

000

PLATE 1a. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.

PLATE 1b. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.

PLATE 1c. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Salote Tupou III, December 1965.

PLATE 2a. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.

PLATE 2b. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.

PLATE 2c. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.

PLATE 3a. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (467a).

PLATE 3b. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).

PLATE 4a. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.

PLATE 4b. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.

PLATE 5a. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 6a.

PLATE 5b. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.

PLATE 6a. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapae'. Engraving after Webber.

PLATE 6b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.

PLATE 7a. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.

PLATE 7b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.

PLATE 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]



175
177

PLATE 19.



PLATE 18.



PLATE 16.

304
782
175
←

292
764
765
→

[End Plate 1]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

175 as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank.
765 Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before
554 (Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala,
612 i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line
[292] were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning
ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all
dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat
round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

612 This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his
602 *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at
764 the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1963 it was an honour to wear the most ragged
765 mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1c).^A
292 Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the
queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the
most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

121 In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few
types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.⁸
175 These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class
565 structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's
554 voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.
126

285 The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the
[431] most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or
one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal
ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own,
being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known
285 today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may
127 be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they
may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have
been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as
Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

175 In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Mats
285 of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and bedding. Their
Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wrapped round their Middle reaching from the
291 breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or
upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole
1961: 266-7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual
[651] symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only
wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces . . . or the
Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967:
175 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:
285 168).

^A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analysis]

/85 cont./

763 a relief for his family, since one may not smoke, for example, in a
 [343] house where there is a dead person, and children may not enter such
 [565] a house. In most cases, however, at least among commoners, death
 takes place in the family dwelling. The dying one, insofar as his
 condition will permit, speaks to his family who are assembled at his
 bedside. Until the end, they try, with medicines, to keep life from
 going out. When he has expired, his wife washes his body with water
 and European soap. A deceased wife is washed by her daughter. The
 child-father taboo is thus observed even in death. The deceased is
 [784] then dressed by his wife in a new white shirt and a white textile vala
 [593] (a deceased woman by her daughter in correspondingly good women's
 clothes). The body is covered from feet to chin with a white or light
 blue satin sheet and over this (or around the body) are laid three (or
 more) of the finest mats (kie Tonga or fine Samoa mats) which cover
 the corpse completely from the neck down (feta'u=death clothes).

In the center of the house the corpse is then laid on mats (for
 example, fala paongo, fala tofua) which are covered with tapa
 (ngatu tahina). Often, perfume of eau de cologne is fetched from a
 shop and is sprinkled on the deceased; his hair is rubbed with Tongan
 oil (lolo Tonga) and is combed. The face of the corpse is covered with
 a handkerchief. The person who ministers to the dead man (or woman)
 [784] is thereafter subject to no taboo (for instance, food taboo).

The relatives of the deceased and of the surviving spouse arrive.
 They kiss the deceased in Tongan fashion ('uma^A) and take a seat in the
 house. The widow sits near the head of the deceased around whom the
 sons, the daughters and the rest of the kinfolk gather. They pray,
 weep and give themselves up to their grief. Gasoline /86/ lamps (some
 [354] ten) lent by the villagers are placed around the corpse; they are a
 [777] substitute for the traditional lamps or torches, (242)
 [565]

242. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 200.

^A [i.e., the nose kiss. See footnote 218 on p. 109--Analyst]

/86 cont./

764 and a deceased commoner is now probably given more lamps than was
 354 formerly customary and that was permissible, compared with chiefs. It
 177 is forbidden to smoke in the house or to drink kava or eat food. The
 565 village chief, the matapule and other villagers drink kava and eat in
 784 a neighboring house; they talk about the deceased and his good deeds.
 276
 622
 565

If the deceased was a member of the Wesleyan church (like most
 794 Tongans), the choir of the village church come and (usually standing
 533 in an adjoining room of the death house) sing hymns until daybreak.
 This is perhaps a substitute for the old individual mourning songs.
 (243)

243. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 198.

A few relatives have meanwhile gone into the bush in order to gather
 sticks (for example, of siale mohe mohe) which they lash with bast
 from the fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) to make the traditional latticed
 bier (fata). A kinsman has arranged with the pastor the time of
 burial; the date was, for example, proposed by the widow and the rest
 of the relatives agree. (244)

244. Many burials take place early in the morning;
 but afternoon is also a preferred time.

The time of burial has arrived. The satin, the handkerchief and
 the mats are removed from the deceased, the tapa on which he is lying
 is folded around him and tied with another piece of tapa. The bier is
 covered with mats (papa and fala paongo) and tapa (ngatu tahina or
ngatu'uli). The deceased is laid on this; the satin sheet and hand-
 kerchief are again placed over him and everything is shrouded with
 one (or two) valuable mat(s) and a large piece of tapa (ngatu'uli).

[202] Then the church bells are rung and ten or 20 younger relatives (not
 the sons) carry the bier to the graveyard. (245)

[184] 245. In Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) where the graveyard
 is more distant and the technical facilities
 are more progressive, the corpse is driven to
 the grave on a truck.

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that [533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and [177] plays a European "funeral march."

764 As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the
765 deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers
302 and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/ [178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the 764 body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore, 765 and the wounding of the head (246) 304 178

246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

764 has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of 765 a child (248) 782

248 Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 220.

764 and the widow sacrifice (249) 177 643

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under Christian influence.

764 If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the 765 priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is 794 borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

/87 cont./

764 is brought to the graveyard. (250)
794

250. For this purpose the Catholic congregation in Fungamisi, for example, uses a European wooden bier which is covered with Tongan mats.

If the deceased was a Wesleyan, the pastor who, at sunrise, prayed with the relatives in the house, awaits the funeral cortege at the graveyard situated at the end of the village, where some ten relatives (or villagers) have already prepared the grave for the deceased. The [554] grave site is always selected by the family eldest (ulu i he famili). 764 For a burial, the Tongans frequently open a grave that is about three or six years old, or one that has been used for a very long time, in which, for example, ten skulls of former burials may be lying.

The present Tongan graves may, in general, be divided into three types. The first type, the older and probably the most common one on most of the islands of the Archipelago, consists of a four-sided lining of the pit with coral limestone slabs cut on the beach, and a covering slab of the same material. The second, undoubtedly more [177] modern type, has the stone slabs replaced by European cement (that is, the cement-sand mixture used in building), whereas the third type is merely a simple, unlined pit. These graves do not have a base slab, since the natives wish to avoid an accumulation of rainwater in the pit. However, they try if possible to place a slab (of stone, wood or corrugated iron) on the grave in which the corpse rests, usually without a coffin. (251)

[177] 251. Though European-style coffins are familiar to the natives, they are seldom made.

764 Over these graves are piled small mounds (square in shape with slant-
531 ing sides or shaped like stepped pyramids) or whitish-yellow or whitish-gray (usually coarse) sand from sections of the beach, and these are often decorated with geometric patterns of black pebbles (from the beach or reef). A fresh grave is also decorated with

/87 cont./

764
53/ kie-kie lou fau (252)

252. Compare p. 323-324.

or sisi kakala, (253)

253. Compare p. 82-84.

(177) mounted between sticks. Some graves are also decorated with borders of shells or beer /88/ bottles, and in the vicinity of European settlements or at the suggestion of a white pastor, the Tongans have begun using crosses and other European-type grave structures of cement (less often cast iron). The graves of Protestants, Catholics and members of the rest of the faiths in Tonga are the same, except that they have separate graveyards. The graves of chiefs usually differ from the resting places of commoners in size and more elaborate decoration. The (565) graves of the royal family are situated in Nuku'alofa; they are made of concrete and in shape are reminiscent of the large langi, (254)

254. Compare W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga
/cited in English/. p. 30ff.

the famous grave structures of the old Tu'i Tonga.

764
178 The village graveyards with their more or less disintegrated, largely unornamented mounds of light sand are a development of recent times. In olden times, when most of the people lived scattered on the various islands, commoners buried their dead on their plantations. (255)

764
(533) 255. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201.

(179) After arriving at the grave the mourners sing a hymn, the pastor reads from the Bible (for example, Psalm 90), and the deceased is lowered into the pit which is spread with tapa (over the old skulls) of a mat (for example, fala paongo),. Then follows the sermon which (533) includes the life history of the deceased. More hymns are sung. Over the corpse, which is usually covered with an additional mat (fala paongo), the grave is closed with a slab. The "eldest" turns

/88 cont./

764 to the gathering, thanks them for coming and suggest that they now go
 765 to the house of the deceased. There they drink kava (women and girls
 574 may also take part in this gathering) and wait for the contents of
 7276 the large earth oven being prepared by the family of the deceased.
 7562 These contents (for example, a pig, yams, kape, taro, manioc, etc.)
 are divided up in baskets (of plaited palm leaves), one of which each
 guest receives. In a town like Fungamisi/Vava'u, the earth oven is
 sometimes already replaced by several hundred loaves of white bread
 which are bought in a bakery. A very well-to-do Tongan may entertain
 the mourners for ten days with food and lodging. But usually, after
 the baskets have been distributed and the last kava has been drunk,
 the guests return home, possibly after the "eldest" has thanked
 them again for their sympathy.

765 Only close relatives (on both sides) usually remain for ten
 7602 days in the house of the deceased, (256)

256. Some of them sleep in the houses of
 neighbors; special huts for the mourners
 are no longer built.

765 whose family look after them. There is a complete noise ban in the
 784 village (for example, no one may beat tapa; call loudly, sing [except
 in church] and dance) for a few days, and /89/ work (especially
 cooperative work) is at a temporary standstill. According to the old
 765 custom, the noise ban for commoners probably lasted ten days and for
 784 chiefs correspondingly longer, depending on their rank. Nowadays,
 178 however, among commoners, the taboo is usually officially lifted for
 7565 relatives after three days (or even on the evening of the day of
 burial), following a meal with singing and dancing, and, for example,
 in the rapidly growing village of Pangai (on Lifuka), a traffic and
 government center of the Ha'apai group, such a taboo is often observed
 only in the vicinity of the house of the deceased. (257)

/90 cont./

used only for the upper classes (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201).

On the other hand, the relaxing of old customs (for example, the noise taboo and "pongi pongi") could indicate coming changes which might bring about a loss of important old traditions and provide no adequate substitute.

c) Names

For several decades Europeans in authority have made an effort to introduce patrilineal family names in Tonga. Up to now, however, they have had little success. Even though, in colleges, for example, students are registered under their patrilineal family names, and public authorities are making a great effort to clarify matters, if only for tax purposes, nevertheless there is still great confusion in eyes of Europeans who are fond of order. Few families have genuine surnames, and even these are not always handed down. In some cases people also change their names on various occasions in the course of their lives. In general nowadays, every Tongan probably has two names, one of which is often a Christian name; however, in most cases only one is used, so that a person's second name is known to only a few. As a rule, at her marriage, a woman is given one of the 91/ two names of her husband. In the further development of the newly founded family the following picture may emerge:

/101 cont./

276 men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a
574 building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a
461 major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is
always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united
in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this
form. (283)

283. Also in construction work of a European
nature (for example, building a cement tank
for drinking water, making concrete blocks
for a church building) this custom is
observed.

276 Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It
527 belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all
585 other festive occasions--generally before the meal.
764

276 Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village,
178 compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but
actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the
greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the
commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in
[177] Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of
the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it.

[273] Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)
[292]

284. Only with a permit from the police
minister or by the dangerous way of the
black market or non-licensed brewing.

but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and
lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the
[415] typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly in-
destructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings
of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)

276 285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.
574 have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease
565 of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.
178

/105 cont./

565 of honor. And the ceremony of kava-serving still singles him out as
554 the most important person in the circle, even when important officials
198 or men (from among commoners) who are influential as a result of their
276 personality or their wealth are among the present. The mere fact
574 that a man in the village has some chief's blood in his veins or that
he bears a title which was once granted him or his ancestors and
causes him to be regarded as matapule, (294)

294. On Nomuka, for example, in all kava circles of
commoners (among whom there are a few
officials and respected Tongans), the Tei
is given the seat of honor without reservation.
The old title of Tei was at one time created
by the Tu'i Tonga, and its bearer had to
take care of fishing for 'ava (fish) and
transporting the ruler. The title con-
tinued to be renewed, so that today the Tei
is commonly regarded as "fisherman to the
Queen."

gives him priority in the kava circle over knowledge, ability and
wealth.

565 Though the respect of commoners for landless chiefs has been
576 considerably reduced in public, it has not entirely disappeared. For
554 almost every commoner, when he visits a chief, will don his ta'o-vala
198 (the mat as a sign of respect), and among the people no one generally
dares to wear the finest mats (for example, kie ta'o-vala) to which
formerly only chiefs were entitled, except for church-going or
weddings, even though the constitutions permit such attire. In
case of death, too, a longer noise- and work-taboo is usually observed
for chiefs than for commoners. The majority of the people still have
a silent respect for rank and title. (295)

295. Outwardly the difference between nobles
and commoners has been completely effaced, for
all classes today wear the same European
clothing.

(291)
(197)

/206 cont.

285 species (see papa).fala paongo:

(513) This the natives prefer to use as the inner mat layer of a complete bed. It is also used separately as a sleeping mat, and (352) when it gets old it is often used as a floor mat. The fala tofua (431) is further used in gift-giving, and in burial, to lay the corpse to (764) rest. It varies in size with an average measurement of about 1.90 x 1.20 meters.

(824) The mat is plaited of the leaf strips of the lou paongo species; these are prepared as for the papa (see above), but are cut much (531) narrower. The fala paongo are not specially ornamented.

fala tofua:

(513) This is the most important sleeping mat and is used by men, women and children. As part of a complete bed it serves as the uppermost (431) layer of mats. It a favored wedding gift, and at a burial the corpse (585) is laid to rest on it. (764)

(824) Like the lo taha (see above) the mat is plaited of leaf strips of the lou tofua species; however, the strips of the former are used double, whereas for the latter they are worked in singly. Leaf strips of the lou paongo species (see papa) are used as the favored ornamentation.

4. Belt Mats

ta'o-vala tofua:

285
291 This belt mat--like all the others--differs from the sleeping mats in that the plaiting is considerably finer and smaller in size.

(554) /207/ It is the most commonly used of these symbols of respect and rank, (534)

534. See p. 69-71.

(824) and is worn especially by men, but also by women. The ta'o-vala

/207 cont./

285 a few days (about seven), desalt them in fresh water, dry them for
[824] three or four days in the sun and roll them up again. Before plaiting them the natives stretch these upper skins of the leaves, make them pliable and divide them into narrow strips.

Sometimes the natives smoke-dry this belt mat to make it somewhat darker (that is, yellowish brown). Nowadays, they also sometimes interweave it with lou kie strips that have been dyed with multi-colored, artificial European dyes.

[531]
[177]
[386]

ta'o-vala kie-kie:

The ta'o-vala kie-kie is very probably a "new discovery" that is no more than two decades old. This is not so much a mat as a plaited belt with pendant strips that are plaited in the same way. Men and women wear it like the ta'o-vala tofua.

They plait the ta'o-vala kie-kie out of leaf strips of the lou tofua variety of pandanus (see above under lo taha) and ornament it with interwoven black-dyed (see above under lo taha) leaf strips of the same species.

[824]
[531]

/208/

5. Display Mats

fala fihu:

285 The fala fihu is a valuable mat which is generally not used by
565 commoners, but is stored away and kept for a special purpose. It is given by a relative or close friend on the occasion of a wedding; a girl will give it to the man she loves, and a young man will also ask his sister for a fala fihu to give to a male or female friend as a special token of affection. At her wedding, a very well-to-do bride is wrapped in such a mat (but usually of a larger variety known as "fihu"), and at a burial the corpse is sometimes covered with it. The daughter of a high-ranking man also sleeps on such a mat.

[585]
[292]
[764]
[513]

285 The fala fihu is made from the pandanus species lou kie (see
824 above under ta'o-vala kie).

/215 cont./

285 off (all around) in one strip. After it has dried in the sun for
283 about two days /216/ the white bast (= on the inner side of the re-
824 maining bark) is removed. This the women (girls) divide into narrow
strips and therewith knot the mana fau which is actually only a strand
of bast slung around the hips, from which the bast fibers, knotted to
it in close succession, hang down to below the knees.

kie-kie lou fau:

292 The kie-kie lou fau is worn especially by women and girls,
though sometimes also by men. They wear it instead of a ta'o-vala
(764) to church, when visiting chiefs, for festivals and other occasions,
(574) and for dances (laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu, hula hula, tau'olunga, hula,
(535) ulu); they also decorate fresh graves with it.

285 This ornamental belt which originated only in recent times (end
292 of the last century?/ is made by women and girls, likewise out of
(462) hibiscus bast, and consists of a plaited belt cord on which are
(824) knotted long, narrow bast strips that hang down. It usually has
(283) special knotted ornaments in the hip section (for example, bast
(777) strips tied into rosettes), and parts of it, in contrast to mana fau,
(386) are always dyed with European dyes (particularly green, lavender, pink,
and blue).

kie-kie pueki:

292 This ornamental belt, which is also worn by women and girls
(438) (and occasionally by men) in place of the ta'o-vala, is a typical
product of the island of Niua Toputapu situated in the very northern
part of the Archipelago. It may be an ancient cultural heritage.

292 The natives there make the kie-kie pueki, like the mana fau, of
237 hibiscus bast (with long pendant bast strips); all around the hip
(283) section, however, they knot snail shells on a band about eight centi-
(285) meters wide. The snail shells, which are whitish-yellow in their
(777)
(386)

/219 cont./

287 usually does herself with a wooden rod and blackish-brown color (a
[338] mixture of koka-color and the soot of burned Aleurites).
[53]

The tapa lengths are folded and rolled into balls and kept in the dwelling of the owner who, in the course of time, cuts off pieces as needed.

287 There are three types of tapa, according to the methods of dyeing:
[53]

1. ngatu tahina:

[386] This most important, because universally used, tapa is dyed a solid brown with the exception of the border and certain parts of the decoration. The patterns are brought out with dark brown or blackish-brown lines. They represent, for example, the /220/ adornment of chieftains, striking or historically noteworthy landscape motifs, symbols of the modern Tongan state (star, crown, dove, swords), parts of ancient Tongan chieftains' houses, as well as the new palace of the king and desirable European objects such as the bicycle and gramophone, and some also have inscriptions (block letters) which explain the meaning of individual decorations (for example, KOE SISI O-TAUFAAHAU = this is the ornamental belt (sisi) of the Taufa'ahua; KOE KALAUNI = this is the crown; KOE PASIKALA = this is a bicycle; KALAMIFONI = gramophone).

287 The ngatu tahina is used as a bed cover (also bed pad) for men
[513] women and children, to partition rooms and as ceiling covers in the
[353] house, as wedding clothes, to lay a corpse to rest, as a gift, and
[342] as a dance dress; in each case sufficiently large pieces are cut
[292] from the roll.
[764]
[431]

2. ngatu tapa'i ngatu:

287 Tapa of this kind has patterns outlined in dark brown (blackish-
[531] brown) on a surface that has been left more or less white. Their
[212] patterns are also symbols of ancient and modern Tonga (for example,

/220 cont./

a certain flower ornament



Pattern on a ngato tapa 'i ngatu: a spitfire fighter plane (Expedition Collection, No. 27)

of a chief, parts of ancient Tongan buildings and houses of chiefs, striking landscapes, the queen's fan, the flag of Tonga, a spitfire fighter plane that the Tongans gave England in the second World War, and a nautical mark in the harbor of Neiafu), and some of them are explained by block-letter inscriptions.

Bast cloth of this kind is used especially as bed covers, to divide up and decorate rooms in the dwelling as well as to cover the ceiling of these, and as gifts; it is also used occasionally as a wedding and a dance dress and to cover a corpse.

3. ngatu 'uli:

This type of tapa is dark brown to blackish-brown (brown koka color and blackish koka and Aleurites soot). It is decorated with print panels (chiefly with the "manulua" pattern, namely, cruciform triangular patterns), or /221/ else patterns are dispensed with and the lines of the coconut fiber cords that were previously wrapped around the "drum" stand out as the pattern on the entire blackish surface.

This tapa is used chiefly as bed pad (on the top mat), as a wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.

/255 cont./

771 in this Archipelago was reached; the discrepancy occasional observed
197 between belief and action is doubtless a universal attribute of
(197) human nature.

/256/ The change in Tongan religion is thus merely an exchange of the old belief in supernatural powers for a new belief in divine omnipotence. At the same time we must not forget that Christianization strengthened and deepened the religiousness of this people.

5. THEIR ART AND THEIR PLAY

A. Music, Poetry and Dance

764 The visual arts were not very highly developed in ancient Tonga.
349 Noteworthy are only the step pyramids (langi) (682)
643

682. See also W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga
/cited in English/. p. 33 ff.

built up out of coral limestone plates, in which the supreme rulers, the Tu'i Tonga (and their high-ranking relatives) were once interred, as well as the large trilithon "Ha'amonga 'a Maui," a gate-shaped stone structure (probably around 1200 A.D.) at Kolonga/Tongatapu.

532 Aside from that, only the few wooden sculptures of gods are to be mentioned.

341 In present-day Tonga there are no visual arts, since such works
532 of architecture and sculpture have not been created for a long time
198 because of political and religious changes in the Archipelago, and the modern period has apparently given no impetus to such efforts.

533 The musical and poetic arts, on the other hand, were carried on
538 in the pre-European era to a great extent. Ancient Tongan music and explorers and the great seafarers who came after them. Europeanization, especially the Wesleyan Christianization of these islands,
(197) however, brought a change and also a suppression of these arts which
(197) therefore appear today in an essentially altered form.

533 Song was quite popular in ancient Tonga. The natives sang

000 /305 cont./

T
515
177
F
302
177 especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.

T
291
177 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion, and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; how-

T
304
178 ever, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of adprnment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes; the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the Tongans. Tatooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga, is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it a deeper significance.

T
581
177
177
F
593
604
178
T
601
F
585
177
178 In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother" survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show

F
177
383
[744]
F
583
585
/305 cont./

much inherited tradition and of mixing of old and new (especially with regard to nuptials) which the present generation takes for granted. In Fiji too there is a sort of "flight marriage" whose purpose is to avoid the great expense of a regular /306/ wedding; the number of those who circumvent the traditional wedding seems to be larger on these islands than in the other Archipelago.

F
T
361
621
While in Tonga a change in the type of settlement can be noted, with commoners formerly living as separate families on the land of chiefs, we find in Fiji a continuation of what has long been the customary type of village settlements, though with the qualification that now the villages seldom have the kind of simple structure in which the larger kinship groups of yavusa were the /settlement's/ sole inhabitants.

F
621
423
425
The old community -oriented system, continues in Fiji to a large extent; this is evident not only in the claim of common land ownership and the traditional carrying-out of community projects, but particularly in the fact that the transfer of private property to fellow villagers solely at their request and without direct return service seems to be practiced on these Islands no less than in Tonga, even though it is officially discouraged. As a result of their encounter with fundamentally different types of culture and under a certain economic pressure, some Fijians have separated themselves from the village community and have found work in trade or industry, or they have established independent farming enterprises (with government support); however, they have remained in the minority, and most of them find it very difficult to break with the old community life and its customs. This development, which is scarcely to be noted in Tonga and only to a slight extent in Samoa, nevertheless represents a certain danger to the continuation of the traditional social order.

F
T
565
198
With regard to social stratification it is to be noted that on

342



5. Dwelling in ancient Tongan style (kaho walls)

764
482
291
292



6. Funeral procession; pallbearers in foreground

[End Plate 3]

an Account of a Visit to the Island of Tongatabu. 109

islets round the anchorage. Closer at hand, some of the largest and fastest sailers, their decks thronged with people, were crowding upon one another like yachts in a regatta, their large angular sails at times nearly touching the Meander's jib-boom end, as they came sweeping across her bows, ploughing the sea up with their sharp stems, and leaving broad tracks of shining white foam behind. They were ornamented with long swallow-tailed streamers of different colours, the foot or lower part of some of the largest sails being fringed with an edging of small flags placed close together. Many had rows of large white cowries fastened on to their bows, and carried black crescent-shaped ornaments at their mast-heads. One canoe had a large black ball painted on the centre of its sail. They came tearing along right up to the edge of the reef, and, when it seemed as though another instant must take them up high and dry on to the coral, would shoot up in the wind's eye and shorten sail; prolonged shouts from the people in the canoes already anchored greeting every fresh arrival. A fleet of smaller canoes surrounded the Meander as she lay broadside on to the shore. Below the hill on the left, shaded by a sombre looking group of casuarinas, was the tomb of Josiah, the last King of Tonga, and near the spot where we stood, two small trees of the same kind, planted by his sons, marked the site of his palace.*

Having seen the last canoe arrive, we walked down the hill to go on board. At the beach all was stir and bustle, small canoes bringing the people on shore from the larger ones, which lay anchored in the deep water at the edge of the reef. Some of the canoes were loaded with enormously fat old women, and were being pushed across the reef by men wading alongside, who helped the old ladies out at the landing-place and set them on their legs with great care, when they waddled up the beach like so many turtle. Wishing to engage one of these canoes to take us off to the ship, we made the men understand that if they would come with us we would pay them for their trouble when they got on board; upon which they ran up after the old ladies to ask their permission, which, however, was most unceremoniously refused. One of the most re-

* *Casuarina equisetifolia*. Pickering, in his 'Races of Men,' mentions this tree as having been introduced into Polynesia; and remarks that it has probably been brought from the westward. My attention was particularly arrested by the use of it at Tongatabu as the emblem of mourning, from having noticed that the natives of Twofold Bay, on the S.-eastern coast of Australia, select spots shaded by it for the interment of their dead. In the only instance where this was not done, I remarked that branches of it were brought from some distance and laid upon the newly-made grave. At Tahiti the grave of King Pomare (father of the present Queen) stands in a grove of them. It grows generally by the sea-shore, where the wind, passing through its fine hair-like leaves, produces a mournful sighing sound, which, with its sombre tint, adapts it peculiarly to the same purposes as the cypress and trees used in other countries for planting near tombs.